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THE

SECRET SOCIETIES

OF

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.

"*In the attempt to conduct the government of this world, there are new elements to be considered which our predecessors had not to deal with. We have not to deal only with Emperors, Princes, and Ministers, but there are the secret societies—an element which we must take into consideration, which at the last moment may baffle all our arrangements, which have their agents everywhere, which have reckless agents, which countenance assassination, and which, if necessary, could produce a massacre.*"—LORD BEACONSFIELD'S Speech at Aylesbury, Sept. 20th, 1876.

"*The secret societies of the world, the existence of which men laugh at and deny in the plenitude of their self-confidence, as men laugh at and deny the existence of Satan himself—the secret societies are forcing their existence and their reality upon the consciousness of those who, until the other day, would not believe that they existed. In the year* 1848 *they shed innocent blood in the city of Rome; in the year* 1871 *they shed innocent blood in the city of Paris. They are again as widespread and as active at this moment.*"—CARDINAL MANNING.

THE

SECRET SOCIETIES

OF

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION,

1776—1876.

BY

THOMAS FROST,
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF THOMAS LORD LYTTELTON," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

THE political history of Europe during the last hundred years has been made, to so considerable an extent, by the various secret associations by which revolutions and insurrections have been prepared, that our knowledge of it is incomplete and unsatisfactory without some acquaintance with the agencies which, during that period, have been incessantly at work beneath the surface. The great European convulsion of the last century was foreshadowed by the Illuminati; the seeds of the movement which, skilfully directed by the most able statesman of the age, has resulted in the establishment of the new German Empire, were sown by the Tugendbund; the independence of Greece is due to the Hetairia; and the extent to which the young Italian State owes its existence to the Carbonari and Young Italy is simply incalculable.

Much has been written concerning some of the

associations forming the subject of these volumes, but there is no single work dealing with the whole of them in the careful and impartial manner which such a subject requires; and the writers who have, at various times, undertaken to relate the history of the Illuminati, the United Irishmen, and the Carbonari have been far too diffuse for the general reader, while, in most cases, their narratives exhibit the bias of party prejudice to an extent which envelopes all their statements in the mists of doubt. To penetrate these mists has been a work of considerable difficulty for the author, and in some instances he has been obliged, after the most careful research and, in the case of the more recent Societies, the best directed inquiries, to leave doubtful or disputed points as he found them.

Before the work could even be commenced, it was necessary to have a clearly defined view of the elements which constitute a Secret Society. If we understand by the words any combination of individuals whose proceedings are conducted in secret, the definition will include organisations as widely separated from each other by their character and objects as the Privy Council, the fraternities of Comical Fellows and

Independent Buffaloes, which combine conviviality with social economy, and the societies known to our detective police as the Long Firm and the Forty Thieves. Nor will it suffice for the purpose to add to secrecy the further definition that the object of the combination must be political. As there are Secret Societies which are not political, so also there have been political associations which, though under secret direction, are separated by broad and well-marked distinctions from such organisations as the Carbonari and the Hetairia.

As an illustration of these distinctions, the National Charter Association and the Chartist conspirators of 1839 and 1848 may be quoted most advantageously, especially as attention has been drawn by Mr. David Urquhart, in an article on the Chartist movement, which appeared in July, 1873, in the *Diplomatic Review*, to the great similarity which he alleges to have existed between the Chartist organisation, towards the close of 1839, and that of the Hetairia. After showing that the Greek association was based on the profoundest secrecy, and that its mechanism was admirably adapted to the end which it had in view, Mr. Urquhart states that, "in principle and in

form, the Chartist confederacy in its revolutionary aspect was substantially the same; for, like the Hetairia, it was composed of different grades—more numerous, indeed, and having functions more minute and complex than are to be found in its prototype—all of whom, in their several degrees, were subordinate to a secret committee of five individuals, in whose hands the supreme power over the organisation was concentrated. Its members were divided into divisions and subdivisions, and again into districts and sub-districts; while these last in their turn branched out into classes and sub-classes—each sub-class being composed, in the metropolis of five, and in the provinces of ten persons. Like the Hetairia, also, the constitution and arrangement of the several parts of the confederacy were such that each of these different grades or circles was kept in ignorance of the knowledge which had been communicated to the one next above it; the connecting line of information could not be traced upwards, while to the secret committee, who concerted and directed the conspiracy, all its ramifications downwards were perfectly well known."

It will be seen, from the chapter on the Hetairia,

that there is scarcely any resemblance between the organisation of that Society and the system described by Mr. Urquhart, which probably was copied by the directors of the Chartist conspiracy of 1839 from that of the United Irishmen, which it resembles very closely. A similar system was adopted by the National Charter Association under the influence of the revolutionary excitement of 1848, the members being divided into classes, wards, and districts. Ten members formed a class, and ten classes a ward, the number of wards in a district varying with local circumstances. But these divisions did not exist in 1842, when the writer made his earliest acquaintances amongst the Chartists, nor at any time thenceforward until the spring of 1848; and neither at the latter date nor in 1839 was there any official connexion between the National Charter Association and the revolutionary movement carried on within it, not a single member of the Executive Council of the Association having, at either period, been on the committee of insurrection.

But if Mr. Urquhart had discriminated between the National Charter Association, the objects of which were perfectly legal and constitutional, and the con-

spiracy to attain those objects by an insurrection, he could not have sustained the view that Chartism and revolution were synonymous; and if he had likened the Chartist organisation of 1839 to that of the United Irishmen, which it very closely resembled, instead of that of the Hetairia, which it did not resemble, he could not have maintained the theory of a Russian origin on the ground that Beniowski, whom he asserts to have been a secret agent of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, and one of the secret committee of the Chartist conspiracy, was a member of the Hetairia. That Beniowski was affiliated to the Greek Association is very probable; that he was a secret agent of the Russian Government is doubtful, and, as the writer thinks, improbable; that he was one of the five directors of the Chartist insurrectionary movement of 1839, is disproved by the fact that he was appointed by the secret committee to a command in Wales, and that the appointment was subsequently revoked.

The National Charter Association was not, at any time, a Secret Society; nor did those members of the Association who conspired in 1839 and 1848 to effect, by force of arms, certain constitutional reforms, most

of which have since been adopted by Parliament, constitute a Secret Society in the sense in which that character attaches to the Societies whose history is related in the present work. The author was acquainted, more than a quarter of a century ago, with men who had participated in the movement of 1839, and, though informed by them of the objects and plans of the conspirators, never heard the slightest allusion to an oath of secrecy and fidelity, an initiatory ceremony, symbols, pass-words, grips, or any other of the distinctive marks of a Secret Society; and he can affirm from personal knowledge that nothing of the kind existed among the Chartist conspirators of 1848.

If we accept as the test by which a Secret Society, as the term is generally used and understood, may be distinguished from other combinations, the adoption of an oath of secrecy and fidelity, an initiatory ceremony, and the use of symbols, pass-words, grips, &c., the associations to which this character applies may be divided into three classes, which are separated from each other by well-defined lines of demarcation. They may be broadly characterised as political, agrarian, and provident societies; the Illuminati, Philadel-

phians, and Carbonari being types of the first class, the Defenders, Whiteboys, and Ribbonmen of the second, and the Odd Fellows, Foresters, and Druids of the third. Of these three classes of Secret Societies, the first alone can be reckoned among the forces which have produced the European revolution which has been in progress during the last hundred years, and is still incomplete.

The author has endeavoured to make the present work as complete as the nature of the subject renders possible, and believes that it includes every Secret Society of the political class which has existed during the last hundred years. He has not, in the performance of his task, relied solely upon the published memoirs of the Illuminati, the United Irishmen, the Carbonari, and the Hetairia, which, with a few exceptions, have been written by men who were not affiliated to those Societies, but has drawn to a considerable extent upon the store of materials which he succeeded in collecting from private sources during more than thirty years' experience of political agitation and journalism, which brought him into connexion, especially during the earlier years of that period, with political refugees from almost every part of Europe. In the use of the

knowlege thus acquired some caution was necessary, and nothing has been admitted without a careful examination by the light of ascertained facts. Though by such tests he has somewhat reduced the amount of matter which less care would have enabled him to produce, the writer has the satisfaction of knowing that he has admitted no statement which he has not every reason to regard as the truth.

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THE

SECRET SOCIETIES

OF

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE descent claimed by or for certain of the secret societies which have exercised so much influence upon the political progress of Europe during the last hundred years from similar associations of a much earlier date, constitutes one of the most interesting of the problems which engage the attention of the student of history. Starting from the earliest secret association of mediæval times, that of the Assassins of the East, we find society after society claiming descent from one or other of its predecessors, and, in comparatively recent times, an unbroken series of such societies, appearing under different names, but having the same objects, and consisting in many instances of the same individuals. This latter state of things will be explained in its proper place; in these introductory pages I desire only to show how the mediæval societies are supposed to have been connected, and how those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

ıave connected themselves with the associations of the Middle Ages.

Freemasonry, which has furnished the organisation nd the symbolism of many of the secret societies of nodern times, claims to be descended from, and to ıave continued, those of the Middle Ages. This claim ıas been made for the Order in respect both of the Templars and the Rosicrucians; and the alleged ffiliation of the Templars to the Assassins completes he genealogical tree by indicating the quarter in vhich we are to seek its roots. Leaving for future onsideration the question of the relationship of the lluminati to the Freemasons, I propose in this place o state the evidence that exists of the alleged descent f the former from the Templars, and of the connexion f the last-named Order with the Assassins; and it vill be necessary to preface this statement with a brief ccount of the origin and development of the mysterious ssociation which arose at Cairo in the eleventh century, and at one time threatened to dominate the Moslem world.

At the time when the Visigothic monarchy in Spain vas succumbing to the growing power of the Saracens, here lived at Ahwaz, in the south of Persia, one Abdallah, who had conceived the idea of subverting he rule of the Khalifs by secretly disseminating mong the faithful the pantheistic tenets which seem o underlie both the theology of the Zend Avesta and hat of the Vedas. There is not, however, much nown of this Abdallah. D'Herbelot does not notice im, and Von Hammer's* account of him was derived

* Geschichte der Assassinen.

from Macrisi, a writer of the fifteenth century, whose Oriental authorities are now inaccessible. Carmath, a native of Syria, in which country Abdallah died, is said to have extended his views, and continued their propagation; and some historians regard him as the founder of the system. He maintained that the precepts of the Koran should be understood in a figurative sense; thus prayer signified obedience to the Imaum Maässoom, an ideal spotless prince, whose followers were to hurl all the princes of the earth from their thrones; fasting was keeping the secrets of the Society; almsgiving was augmenting its funds. For a whole century war was waged, with varying success, between the Carmathites and the troops of the Khalifs, the former being at length vanquished, and their name extinguished.

They were not yet stamped out, however, when a secret association, the members of which adopted the distinctive white garments of the Carmathites in their assemblies, was formed at Cairo for the propagation of the same tenets. According to the accounts preserved by Macrisi, aspirants were in these assemblies conducted through nine degrees of mental illumination, the latter of which remind us in some degree of the revelations made to the initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis. In the first degree they were perplexed by captious questions, which seemed designed to expose the absurdities of the Koran, when literally understood, and to prepare the mind for interpretations more consonant with reason. They were then required to bind themselves to the Society by a solemn oath of obedience and secrecy, after which the recog-

ıition of the Imaums appointed by God as the sources f all knowledge was inculcated.

To students of the third degree the number of the maums—the mystic seven—was revealed. In the ourth they were taught that God had sent seven law-ivers to man, the mission of each being to improve he system of his predecessor, and adapt it to the ltered conditions of society; and that each of these ad seven helpers, who had appeared in the intervals etween the eras of the lawgivers. The seven ivinely-commissioned legislators were Adam, Noah, braham, Moses, Jesus, Mahomed, and Ismael, the on of Jaaffer; the seven helpers were Seth, Shem, shmael, Aaron, Simon, Ali, and Mahomed, the son f Ismael. Von Hammer observes that, as the last-amed personage had not been dead more than a entury, the teacher was enabled to fix upon whom e would as the prophet to be believed in and obeyed y all who had not got beyond this degree. Students n the fifth degree were taught that each of the elpers had twelve apostles to assist him, and the ppropriateness of that number was shown by mystical nalogy.

The sixth degree carried the illumination of the spirants a step further. They were now taught hat nothing in the Koran was positive that was un-upported by philosophy, and a long course of in-truction in the systems of Plato and Aristotle was one through. In the seventh degree instruction was iven in the mystic pantheism of the Soofees. There ould seem to have been no need to carry the incul-ation of subversive doctrines further than this; and he system of Abdallah is said, indeed, to have been

comprised in seven degrees. But Macrisi affirms that there was an eighth degree, in which the initiated were told that prophets and teachers were nothing, and heaven and hell an idle dream; and a ninth, still more superfluous, which taught that nothing was to be believed, and that everything might be done. De Sacy* was of opinion, however, that the Arabic words *taleel* and *ibahat* will not bear the construction put on them by Macrisi and Von Hammer. The former, he says, signifies only that God is a merely speculative being; and the latter, emancipation from the injunctions concerning prayer, fasting, &c., but not from moral obligations.

It is unnecessary to the present purpose that the history of the remarkable Society that arose from these beginnings should be related, even in a merely cursory manner. It is sufficient to say of the Society at Cairo that the initiated multiplied rapidly, and in 1058 were strong enough to seize Bagdad, and hold it for more than a year. From that time, however, it declined, and in 1123 it was forcibly suppressed. In the meantime, however, Hassan Sabah had organised a similar society in Syria, rejecting the last two degrees of the Ismaelite Society at Cairo, and instituting an Order of *Fedavee* (devoted), the members of which do not appear to have participated in the mystic pantheism of the higher order of the initiated, but to have remained subject to the positive precepts of the Koran. To these was assigned the task of murdering those who were denounced to them by their chief; and hence the name of Assassins, by which the initiated

* Journal des Savants, 1818.

ecame known in Europe, though in Asia they were alled Oriental Ismaelites, to distinguish them from hose of Egypt.

Hassan Sabah captured by stratagem the strong ɔrtress of Alamoot, in the north-west of Persia, in 090, and one of his lieutenants seized the fortress of Ioominabad soon afterwards. During one of the 'equent civil wars of that period, the Order continued ɔ seize fortress after fortress, and to extend and con- ɔlidate its power. In vain were anathemas ful- ıinated against the Assassins, and the sword of jus- ice invoked for their extermination. Strong in their ecret organisation, they defied alike ecclesiastical ensures and civil processes, and the daggers of the 'edavee avenged those whom the sword of justice truck down. Against such enemies even armies were ıo protection, and every ruler in Asia trembled on ıis throne.

Within thirty years after the capture of Alamoot by he Assassins, the Order of the Knights Templars was ounded, and between these two Orders a secret con- ıexion has been alleged to have existed. Von Ham- ner not only traced in the latter a resemblance to the ormer, but asserted that two of the knights who ormed the nucleus of the Temple Order were secretly ıffiliated to the Assassins. Absolute proof of this onnexion never has been adduced, but it must be emembered that the Assassins were a secret associa- ion, and, as the Templars undoubtedly had a similar ırganisation, as well as similar aims, positive evidence s not to be expected. All that can be done towards he solution of an undoubted historical puzzle is to elate those points in the history of the two Orders

which afford grounds for the conclusion arrived at by Von Hammer.*

The Order of the Temple originated with nine knights, then in Syria, who took upon them monastic vows, and engaged also to defend the Temple of Jerusalem against the Moslems. Hugh de Payens, the founder of the Order, returned to Europe to enlist support, and reappeared in Syria ten years later, at the head of three hundred knights of the noblest families of Europe. They wore white mantles with a red cross on the breast. It may be no more than a coincidence that the Assassins also wore white garments with a red girdle. The banner of the Templars was first unfurled in that unfortunate expedition to Damascus, in which they acted in alliance with the Assassins, and of which Von Hammer accuses Hugh de Payens of being the chief instigator. The Assassins were at that time desirous of securing a position on the coast, and a secret treaty was concluded between Abu-al-Wefa, their agent at Damascus, and Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, by which the former engaged to betray Damascus to the Crusaders, and the latter to place Tyre in the hands of the Assassins. The Crusaders were to assemble secretly, and appear before Damascus on a Friday, when the Emir and his officers would be at prayers in the mosque. The treachery of Abu-al-Wefa was opportunely discovered, however, and the Emir, having put to death both his vizier (who was in the plot) and the Ismaelite agent, and massacred all the Assassins in Damascus, to the number of six thousand, sallied from the city, attacked

* Fundgruben der Orient.

he Crusaders, and completely routed them. In consequence of this defeat, the Ismaelite governor of the Castle of Banias placed it in the hands of the Crusaders, in order to avail of the protection of the latter, and thus escape the fate of his brethren in Damascus.

That the Templars and the Assassins more than once co-operated, and that the former pursued their secret purpose with as little regard for Christians as Moslems, is undeniable. The raising of the siege of Damascus by the Crusaders has been attributed to the treachery of the Templars, and at the siege of Ascalon, which also miscarried through the opposition of the latter to the other forces engaged in it, the Templars actually held the breach against the Christians, in order to monopolise the spoil. Two years later, when the Ismaelite Khalif of Egypt was slain by his vizier, and the latter was flying across the desert from the vengeance of the people, a body of Templars attacked and routed his escort near Ascalon, slew him, seized his treasure, and sold his son to the family of the murdered Khalif for sixty thousand pieces of gold, though he had expressed a desire to become a Christian, and tortures and death awaited him in Egypt.

During the Grand Mastership of Philip of Naploos, the Templars again evinced their sympathy with the Egyptian Khalifate by protesting against the expedition against it of Almeric, King of Jerusalem, and refusing to take part in it; and in 1167, when Almeric entrusted to them the defence of a strong position on the Jordan, they capitulated to the Moslems, though the king was hastening to their relief. This treachery—for we cannot suppose it

cowardice—led Von Hammer to the conclusion that the annual tribute which the Assassins paid to the Templars at this period was really secret service money applied to the reward of the latter Order for their assistance on this and other occasions.

The power and influence of the Assassins reached their zenith at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Christian power in the East was waning fast; and it is just at this time that we find the struggle commencing between the Templars, who now had preceptories and estates in every European country, and the princes of the West. In 1208, Pope Innocent III. passed a public censure on the Order, in an epistle to the Master, in which he said that, though they bore the Cross on their breasts, they cared not to follow Christian doctrine; and that they admitted to the Order scoundrels of every degree, who, when they died, received honourable burial in their cemeteries, though they might be under ecclesiastical interdict for adultery and other offences. The Papal censure was disregarded by the Templars, and, though they professed obedience to the Pope's legate in 1219, when he headed the expedition against Damietta, it was really they who directed the legate. When the Emperor Frederic II. undertook a crusade into Egypt, they exerted all their influence to render it a failure, and even betrayed his plans to the Egyptian Sultan. The Emperor revenged himself upon the Order by seizing all their estates in Italy and Sicily, and the Templars retaliated by dispossessing the Teutonic knights of their possessions in Syria.

About this time the Templars entered into an alliance with the Emir of Damascus against the Hospi-

allers, and in 1259 a battle was fought between the wo Orders, in which the former were completely outed. They seem at this time to have been mediating a final retreat from Syria, where the Turks vere bearing down all opposition; and, after the torming of Acre, the last stronghold of the Chrisians in Syria, they carried the design into execution. 3ut in Europe they were already in odium, with the »rinces because the Order menaced their absolute »ower, with the clergy on account of their indepenlence and their suspected heresies, with the masses or their licentiousness. Their opposition to the pro»osition of Pope Clement V. for a new crusade, and heir amalgamation with the Hospitallers, swelled the torm that was rising against them. Charges were nade against them, that they were a secret society; hat they repudiated and reviled the doctrines of Christianity; that they held the heresy of the Gnostics, and contemned the authority of the Church; hat their lives were licentious and abominable. Thereupon all the Templars in France were arrested, nd all the property of the Order in that country was onfiscated by anticipation. The same course was aken shortly afterwards in almost every country vhere they had preceptories.

The depositions that were taken in the course of he proceedings that were followed by the suppresion of the Order are far from satisfactory. The artiles of accusation were absurd and contradictory. The onfession attributed to Molay, the last Grand Master, vas disowned by him; and though the Bull of Clenent V., in which it was cited, is dated August 12th, 309, the confession is said to have been made on the

festival of the Assumption, which was four days later !* The confessions of the knights were extracted by torture, and many of them retracted. Of the charge of being connected with the Assassins, nothing was said; for the power of that Order had been crushed, in Persia by the Mongol Khans, and in Syria by the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, Beibars, and Europe had nothing to fear from it. The charges that were made were supported by evidence that would not be considered sufficient for conviction by any modern jury; and even Clement V. acknowledged that it amounted only to suspicion.

Wilcke, though he acquits the Templars of being an offshoot of the Assassins, regards them as a secret Order, and believes that they held the mystic doctrines of the Gnostics. Opinion seems to be evenly balanced upon the point of secrecy, but their history affords abundant evidence that, whether or not they were bound to secrecy by an oath, they had secret aims, to which they were moved by springs of action unknown to the outer world. They manifested upon several occasions contempt for the authority and for the rites of the Church, and a general indifference to religion; and there is evidence enough of their transactions with the Assassins, and their alliances at a later period with Moslem princes, to show that their aim was less the defence of Christianity than the advancement and glorification of their own Order. Like the Assassins, they aimed at independent power, at the erection of a State within a State, and they seemed to have failed to achieve their purpose only

* Henry, Hist. Eccles., lib. xci.

ecause their schemes were too vast, and their forces oo much diffused for their accomplishment.

The evidence of the descent of the Masonic Order rom the Templars is vague and misty. The claim vas first advanced in 1740 by Andrew Ramsay,* a Scotchman domiciled in France, and an adherent of he Chevalier St. George. There has always been herished by the Freemasons some tradition assign- ng to their Order extreme antiquity, one of these arrying back the date of its origin to the building of Solomon's Temple; and Ramsay, without adducing any vidence in support of the hypothesis, suggested that he Order originated at the time of the Crusades. The dea assumed a tangible form in the higher degrees of Masonry which were founded by Ramsay, and thus eceived the encouragement necessary for its develop- nent. We next meet with it in what is known as he Swedish system of Masonry, described by Findel s a mixture of the Masonic, Rosicrucian, and Templar systems, and the foundation of which is ttributed to Gustavus III., who is said to have been ctuated in its introduction and dissemination by olitical motives.

Most, if not all, secret societies have a discourse on heir origin and objects which is read or orally de- ivered to members on their initiation, or prefixed to heir printed rules; and this applies to such Orders as he Freemasons and the Foresters, as well as to olitical societies, like the Illuminati and the Car- onari. That of the Swedish system of Masonry ets forth that there have been, from the beginning of

* Findel's History of Freemasonry.

the world, men who have worshipped the one God in spirit and truth, and preserved that esoteric doctrine as a mystery, handed down from one generation to another. In the time of the Crusades, seven Syriac Christians, who had inherited that truth from the Essenes, flying from the Saracens, were rescued near Bastrum by a troop of Templars, and received protection from the Order. At their own request they were allowed to reside with the chaplains of the Order at Jerusalem, amongst whom they were afterwards admitted, and to whom they imparted their secrets. These remained with the Templars ever afterwards, the existence of the priestly members of the Order not being affected by its suppression, as they could not be reached by the secular arm. Some of them proceeded to Scotland, and founded a chapter of the Order at Aberdeen, of which Peter of Bologna was the first prior. From thence the revived Order was extended to the European Continent, where it existed in several countries in secret until it was merged in the Masonic Order.

When the Masonic convention was held at Wilhelmsbad, in 1781, Ditfurth, the delegate of the Wetzlar lodges, pronounced the evidence of the derivation of the Order from the Templars perfectly satisfactory; and, after much discussion, it was resolved:—

"That the connexion with the Order of the Temple was maintained by means of historical instruction, imparted in a special class of the Order, which at the same time was charged with the regulation of the inferior degrees, and had the name of Beneficent Knights bestowed on them; and that all Prefects and Provincials had it entirely at their own

liscretion, should special circumstances demand it, and f it could be done without prejudice to the whole :onfederation, to leave this degree entirely on one side, ınd make no use of it at all."

The tradition of the perpetuation of Templarism in he Masonic Order has been repeated in various forms, ll agreeing, however, in the statement that a remnant of the Temple Order found a refuge in Scotland. One ersion is that seven knights eluded the persecution of the Order, and escaped to the isle of Mull, where hey found another of the brethren, named Harris. These formed the nucleus of the revived Order, the nembers of which worked as masons; but the story loes not make it clear whether they communicated heir secrets to their fellow-craftsmen, and thus riginated the Masonic Order, or grafted them upon secret system already existing. The early history of Masonry is so misty and dim that the separation of the facts from the fictions in which they are em-edded is not only a very difficult task, but one that annot be performed with a perfectly satisfactory esult.

Wilcke relates the story more in detail, but only or the purpose of demolishing it. As it is thus told, Peter of Bologna, the chief chaplain of the Temple Order, escaped from prison, and found refuge with Hugh, Wildgrave of Salm, who was a Commander of he Order. This asylum being insecure, he fled to Scotland, accompanied by Silvester of Grumbach, and found there Harris, a Grand Commander, and Aumont, he Marshal of the Order. These four committed the secrets of Templarism to the Freemasons. Against he credibility of this story it is urged by Wilcke that

nothing is known concerning the movements of Peter of Bologna after his escape from prison; that tradition has made two knights of one—namely, Comes Silvester, Wildgrave of the Commandery of Grumbach; that Hugh of Salm, Wildgrave and Commander of Grumbach, died a prebend of the Cathedral of Mentz; that the names of Harris and Aumont do not occur in any authenticated history of the Templars; and that the last Marshal of the Order, whose name is unknown, was left by Molay in Cyprus, where the Order was not disturbed.

These objections do not effectually dispose of the story. We must expect to find discrepancies and imperfections in relations of the kind, however solid may be the foundation upon which the tradition has been built up. That Peter of Bologna did escape from prison is admitted; the fact that nothing is well attested concerning his subsequent movements does not prove that he did not find a refuge in Scotland. The mystery in which his after life is enveloped may just as fairly be urged in support of the tradition, since, as it is not known where he found a refuge, it is as reasonable to assume that he went to Scotland as that he did not. On the same principle, the fact that the names of Harris and Aumont are unknown must not be regarded as a proof that they were not on the roll of the Temple Order at the time of its suppression. About eight hundred names are mentioned in the records of the judicial proceedings against the Templars, and the greatness of the number has been regarded by Masonic authors who reject the tradition as evidence of the non-existence of Harris and Aumont; but it would be just as fair, in view of the many

housands whom the Temple Order numbered in its anks, to argue that, because certain names are not on he muster-roll of the Guards, there are no soldiers of hose names in the British army.

Neither, as it seems to me, should the tradition of he perpetuation of the Temple Order in Freemasonry e discredited on the ground of there being a secret Order of Templars, whose chief seat is in Paris, and vhose preceptories exist in many towns of France and ther countries, including England, claiming to have preserved the statutes, archives, and banners of the Order, and to have had an unbroken series of Grand Masters from the time of Molay. It must be borne n mind, that the knights remained as individuals vhen they were suppressed as an Order, and that, hough many of them were received into other Orders n the same footing as they had stood in that of the Temple, a considerable number were refused this avour, or declined to avail of it. Some of these may ave formed the nucleus of the secretly continued and nauthorised Order, the Grand Mastership of which is aid to have been held by Bertrand du Guesclin, and everal of the Montmorencies and Bourbons; while thers, who did not consider themselves safe in France, nay have sought refuge in such remote corners of Europe as the island of Mull.

According to the "Manuel des Templiers," Molay, ast before his execution, nominated as his successor ne Larmenius, who mustered the scattered members f the Order, and secretly reorganised them. Finding hat the refugees in Scotland had deviated from he rules of the Order—which may be understood as pplying to their proceedings in connexion with the

Freemasons—he excommunicated them. In 1324 he committed the office of Grand Master to Francois Thomas Alexandrinus by deed, and this document has been the subject of much controversy. It is written in three columns, on a large sheet of parchment, and, according to Gregoire,* has the appearance of such extreme antiquity that there can be no doubt of its genuineness. Wilcke says, on the other hand, that the Latin is not that of the fourteenth century, and that such an appointment would have been contrary to the Temple rules. The former objection is entitled to more weight than the latter; for, though the deed is undoubtedly at variance with the statutes of the Order, the illegality, or rather irregularity, is no more proof that the document is a forgery than the absence of attesting signatures to a will would be a proof that the testament was a forgery.

It must equally be admitted that the alleged nomination of Larmenius by Molay would have been invalid; but some allowance may be made for the difficulties of the situation, which would account for some other circumstances which have been regarded as evidence of the fraudulent character of the claim which the modern Templars have advanced. It is obvious that an election according to the statutes of the Order was impracticable, and, though the execution of Molay's will has been considered equally so, the manner in which despatches have been conveyed in our own time—in India during the revolt of 1857, for instance—may be referred to as one only of many modes in which similar difficulties have been over-

* Histoire des Sectes Religeuses.

come. The objection that the name of Larmenius is unknown is stronger than in the cases of Harris and Aumont, because the names recorded in the *procès-verbaux* may be supposed to include those of all the most notable of the French Templars; but Larmenius may not have been a Frenchman, or he may have been selected for the very reason that he was beyond the reach of the prosecution.

Very little weight seems to me to attach to the objection that the adherents of Hugo of Peyraud, grand prior to the Order in France, were very numerous, and would not have acquiesced in the nomination of Larmenius by Molay. Hugo was suspected of having precipitated the downfall of the Order by disclosures concerning it, to which he was impelled by disappointed ambition; and it may readily be conceived that he did not acquiesce in Molay's choice of a successor, and also that Larmenius did not succeed in rallying around him all the knights who were not received into other Orders. The story only requires us to believe that the Order continued to exist in secret after the execution of Molay. It is a much more serious objection that the roll of the grand masters from Molay to the present time bears suspicious marks of forgery. The signatures before Brissac's in the eighteenth century appear to have been written by the same hand, and they include one purporting to be that of Bertrand du Guesclin, who could not write.

The difficulties which surround the investigation of the origin and history of the secret societies of the last hundred years are so much greater in respect of those which claim to date from the Middle Ages, when

records were more liable to be lost or destroyed, that no surprise or disappointment can be felt at the absence of conclusive evidence of the connexion alleged to have existed between the Templars and the Freemasons, and between the latter and the Rosicrucians, or Brethren of the Rosy Cross. Masonic writers of the present day repudiate the connexion, but there is abundant evidence that it was an article of faith with the Continental Masons during at least the latter half of the last century. Findel asserts that the Templars "sneaked into the Order, like the Jesuits and the Illuminati," and asks why they maintained a separate existence for four hundred years, by the side of the Masonic Order, before they claimed kinship. The question is evidently intended to throw discredit on the alleged descent of Masonry from Templarism; but the previous assertion weakens its force by admitting the existence of the latter systems in the middle of the eighteenth century, while it ignores the important difference between the Templars and the other Orders mentioned, that the latter neither claimed kinship with the Freemasons, nor were admitted to form higher degrees in that Order, as the Templars were.

The separate existence of Templarism cannot be received as evidence against the connexion of the two Orders, in view of the like state of things in respect of the Freemasons and the Rosicrucians. Findel omits to explain the existence of the Rosicrucian degree in the Masonic Order; he does not tell us that the Rosicrucians sneaked into the Order. Yet the latter Order, equally with the Templars, has maintained a separate existence by the side of Freemasonry for

nearly four centuries. Christian Rosencreutz died in 1484, and a periodical publication devoted to astrology and other occult lore of the like kind, and which had a brief existence about thirty years ago, stated that the Order of the Rosy Cross was not wholly extinct even then, and had many members in England, as well as on the Continent. It would seem therefore that the Freemasons of the present day repudiate the Templars only on account of the alleged affiliation, which claim has not been set up on behalf of the Rosicrucians, though Freemasonry is not generally credited with a greater antiquity than the seventeenth century, at the beginning of which the Order of the Rosy Cross first became known.

The Carbonari claim descent from the Kohlen-Brenners of Germany; but it may be regarded as certain that no Carbonaro ever knew anything more of the genealogy than the dim traditions which are known to all who have studied the under-currents of political progress. It is said that the charcoal burners of Germany formed themselves into an association for mutual assistance, and recognised each other by secret signs and pass-words. Their secrets, and the oath which bound them to each other, were called the Faith of the Kohlen-Brenners. Important services rendered to the Order sometimes obtained admission into the society for persons of rank. The organisation must have had an early origin, for Theobald de Brie, who is said to have been one of the honorary members, died in 1066, and, being canonised, became the patron saint of the society—a circumstance which led to his adoption in the same capacity by the modern Carbonari.

The association in the course of time acquired more consistency, and extended its ramifications into France, Flanders, and Holland. Francis I. is said to have been initiated into its secrets when, being separated from his company in the chase, and benighted in an extensive forest, he shared the hospitality of some of its members. The French branch is alleged to have existed in the mountains of the Jura down to the close of the last century, and several members of the provincial parliaments are said to have been enrolled in it between the years 1770 and 1790. The members were called Good Cousins, as the Carbonari afterwards called each other in their lodges.

Whatever may be thought of the evidence of the affiliation of the modern secret societies to those of the Middle Ages, there is no reason for doubting that the descent of the Freemasons from the Templars, and of the Carbonari from the Kohlen-Brenners, has been honestly believed by at least past generations of the modern societies. It is rarely, if ever, that more than a few of the members of a secret society are acquainted with the true date and circumstances of its origin. Hence the Freemasons, though claiming in the seventeenth century an origin for their Order among the masons employed in the building of Solomon's temple, received with avidity in the first half of the eighteenth century the suggestion of Ramsay that it dated from the time of the Crusades, and the statements of adherents of the Swedish system that it was a continuation of the Temple Order. It is obvious that the Masons, as a body, knew nothing at that time of the Order's origin beyond the fact that it had been grafted at an unknown period upon the guild of

Masons, from which, it is equally obvious, it did not derive its rites and mysteries.

Whence then were the Masonic rites and mysteries derived? It is at least as probable that they have descended from the Templars as that they should have been instituted no longer ago than the seventeenth century, and yet nothing be known concerning their origin. Masonic writers who reject the hypothesis of descent from the Templars throw no light upon the matter; in casting from them that theory they seem to have left themselves entirely in the dark. The vague allusions of the initiatory discourse used in the Swedish system to the Essenes are as little to be regarded as the reference to the mysteries of Eleusis in an address used by the Carbonari, or the statement in the dissertation prefixed to the rules of the A.O.F. that Forestry originated in the garden of Eden.

Though the Masonic Order is, at the present day, counted among the secret forces of the European revolution only by the Pope and the Ultramontane section of the priesthood of Rome, so much of the organisation and the symbolism of the secret societies of the last hundred years has been derived from it, and it forms so important a link of the connexion between the mediæval and the modern societies of a secret character, that the foregoing considerations are strictly in place. It may be that the Freemasons of the nineteenth century have no secret doctrine, no aims which distinguish them from the Foresters and the Odd Fellows; but this was not always the case, and I shall now proceed to show how they have served to link the Templars of the fourteenth century with the Illuminati of the eighteenth.

CHAPTER I.

THE ILLUMINATI.

AT the time when a variety of causes, the respective shares of which in producing the great European convulsion of the last century have formed the theme of hundreds of volumes, were operating towards the production of that tremendous political and social tornado, the professorship of canon law in the university of Ingolstadt, in Bavaria, was held by Dr. Adam Weishaupt, a man possessing moral and intellectual qualities of a rare order, but who had not, in the first year of the period under review, made any mark in the world. He had been educated in a seminary of the Jesuits, and may have owed to his training by priests of that Order the abhorrence of sacerdotal influence which he displayed in after life, as well as much of his skill in the organisation of societies and his aptitude in availing of the capacities of those around him for the furtherance of his aims. He quitted the seminary animated by an inveterate hostility to the Jesuitical system, and, though he devoted himself to the study of the canon law, the influence of such works as the "Contrat Social" of Rousseau is distinctly perceptible in the tone of his letters to his friends Zwackh and Knigge.

The time at which he conceived the idea of

founding a secret Order that should be a counterpoise to the formidable organisation of Loyola cannot be fixed with any degree of precision. The date given by Robison* as that of the institution of the Illuminati is 1775, when the founder was in his twenty-eighth year; but I am disposed to regard this as an error, as Weishaupt is said to have found his first disciples in the lodges of the Masonic Order, of which he was not a brother until two years later, when he was initiated in the Lodge Theodore of Good Counsel, held at Munich.† Findel, who denies the statement of Robison that the first members of the Illuminati were Masons, says that Weishaupt adapted the rites of Masonry and the rules of the Society of Jesus to the purposes with which he founded the new Order, which he could not have done unless he had been himself initiated prior to the commencement of the work with which his name is associated. It is probable therefore that the Order of the Illuminati was not founded, or at least not definitely constituted, until two or three years later than the date assigned by Robison.

No evidence is adduced by Findel in support of his denial that the first members of the Illuminati were Masons, though the fact that Weishaupt was a brother of the latter Order renders it probable that he would seek recruits among the Masonic brethren, and it is well known that speculation on questions of religion and government, and the organisation of

* Proofs of a Conspiracy against Government and Religion by the Illuminati and the Freemasons. London, 1798. Barruel fixes the date a year later than Robison does.

† Findel's History of Freemasonry.

society, were rife at that period in the Masonic lodges, though such discussions were said to be forbidden by their rules. Findel, while contending that the Masonic Order, before the seventeenth century, was simply an organisation of the Masons' guilds, or trade unions, on some such system as that of the Foresters and Odd Fellows of the present day, acknowledges that it underwent a change during the last quarter of that century and the first of the eighteenth.

"The most decisive agent in accomplishing the transformation of Masonry was," he says, "that intellectual movement known under the name of English Deism, which boldly rejected all revelation and all religious dogmas, and, under the victorious banner of reason and criticism, broke down all barriers in its path. Peers of the realm fought in the ranks of the Deists, as well as the simple artisan. Everything that civilisation and learning, sagacity and fertility of thought, could offer was at that time employed in the struggle for and against Deism, its chief supporters being Toland, Collins, &c., and the period when it flourished the most is exactly pointed out by the Act of Toleration, passed in the year 1689. It cannot be denied that there is to be found a certain spiritual connexion between this movement and the Fraternity of Freemasons, as it afterwards appeared."

This connexion, he adds, struck him with great force in the perusal of Toland's "Pantheisticon," especially in the description of the Socratic Society, and he quotes, as proof and illustration, the opening of the liturgical form of the Order imagined by the author, as follows:—

"*Question.* Have the uninitiated been removed?

"*Answer.* The doors are closed, and everything is in due order.

"*Q.* Under what auspices do we open this Society?

"*A.* Under the auspices of Philosophy.

"*Q.* To what must this assembly, to what must all our thoughts, words, and actions be continually devoted?

"*A.* To the threefold aim of the wise—truth, freedom, and virtue."

"This intellectual revolution," Findel adds, "must necessarily have exercised an important influence on the Fraternity of Masons, and we cannot doubt that it contributed essentially to its final transformation from an operative to an universal speculative Society." I quote Findel on this point in preference to expressing any opinion of my own, because he is himself a brother of the Masonic Order, and regarded as an authority of the highest order on all matters concerning it. Let us now see what was the condition of the Order at the time of Weishaupt's initiation, first glancing at a society whose operations explain the allusion in Findel's assertion that the Templars "sneaked into the Order, like the Jesuits and the Illuminati."

An attempt was made during the second quarter of the eighteenth century to graft upon the Masonic Order the rites and mysteries of the Gormogones, said to have been brought from China, and to have been practised in that country for centuries. Very little information concerning this society is accessible. It is said to have been introduced into England by a Chinese mandarin, who was suspected of being a

Jesuit missionary; but it is not known whether the supreme chapter of the Order had its seat in Paris or in Rome. Masonic authors, though they have very little to tell us concerning the Gormogones, agree in regarding it as a Jesuit enterprise. Kloss conjectures that it was an attempt of the disciples of Loyola to promote Romanism, and regain their influence in England; and Findel surmises that Ramsay, who was an adherent of the Jacobite faction, had something to do with the experiment, which was, however, a failure. The Order was dissolved in 1738, having been in existence thirteen years; and it is a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that the first Papal bull against the Freemasons was fulminated in the same year.

The Illuminati were more successful. The latter half of the last century was a period of great activity and incessant agitation in the Masonic Order. Higher degrees and new rites and ceremonies were introduced, and those which were practised in one country were unknown in another. This was especially the case on the Continent, where the English brethren of the Order were surprised and perplexed by finding in the lodges they visited degrees, doctrines, and ceremonies entirely novel and strange to them.* The Parisian Lodge, Les Amis Réunis, practised the ritual of the Philaletheans, a Masonic sect or section founded in 1773, and which excluded from its chapters even the officers of the Grand Orient. At Metz there was the

* Robison.—"These societies, which in England had no political bearing, because liberty there conspired openly in Parliament and the press, had a very different meaning on the Continent. They were the secret conventicles of independent thought."—*Lamartine.*

chapter of St. Theodore, in which the revised ritual of St. Martin was used. At Montpelier there was the chapter of the Rosy Cross. From the Pyrenees to the Oder, Masons of rank and means travelled from lodge to lodge to learn new doctrines; and every schemer and charlatan, a Ramsay or a Balsamo, who professed to teach a mystery or doctrine till then unknown, was received with honour and listened to with avidity.

This ferment of ideas was a suitable preparation of men's minds for the enterprise contemplated by the Ingolstadt professor of canon law. He found able and earnest coadjutors in a Bavarian advocate, named Zwackh, who was a brother of the Masonic Order, and an Italian noble, the Marquis of Costanza; and proceeded to propagate his system in the Masonic lodges of Munich and Augsburg. Objecting to the Masonic and Rosicrucian systems, in the latter of which he seems to have been initiated, that they "leave us under the dominion of political and religious prejudices, and are as ineffectual as the soporific dose of an ordinary sermon," Weishaupt unfolded a system which he explains as follows in a work published at a later period at Ratisbon, and the introductory portion of which is said to have been the discourse read to aspirants on their admission into the Order:—

"I have contrived a system which possesses every advantage. It attracts Christians of every communion, gradually frees them from all religious prejudices, cultivates the social virtues, and animates them by a great, feasible, and speedy prospect of universal happiness in a state of liberty and moral equality, freed from the obstacles which subordination, and the

inequalities of rank and wealth, continually throw in our way. My system is accurate and complete; my means are effectual and irresistible. Our Association works in a way that nothing can withstand, and man shall soon be free and happy.

"This is the great object held out by this Association, and the means of attaining it is Illumination—enlightening the understanding by the sun of reason, which will dispel the clouds of superstition and prejudice. The proficients in this Order are therefore justly called the Illuminated. And of all Illumination which human reason can give none is comparable to the discovery of what we are, our nature, our obligations, what degree of happiness we are capable of enjoying, and what are the means of attaining it. In comparison with this, the most brilliant sciences are but amusements for the idle and luxurious. To fit man by Illumination for active virtue, to engage him to it by the strongest motives, to render the attainment of it easy and certain by finding employment for every talent, and by placing every talent in its proper sphere of action, so that all, without any extraordinary effort, and in conjunction with their ordinary business, shall urge forward, with united powers, the general task:—this indeed will be an employment suited to noble natures, grand in its aims, and delightful in their pursuit."

The lofty aims proposed in this discourse foreshadow the grand schemes of social amelioration propounded at a later period by St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, Cabet, and Weitling. It is one of the most irrational ideas ever promulgated that either Weishaupt or the social reformers by whom he was succeeded

were actuated by the motive which some authors, too hastily expressing the conclusions of a shallow judgment, or intent only upon the vilification of opponents and the misleading of the popular mind, have attributed to them, of bringing about universal anarchy and demoralisation. Such an aim could exist only in the diseased brain of a lunatic. No enthusiast of this class, however wrong-headed he may have been, however far he may have overshot his mark, can be shown to have been actuated by other than the purest and most laudable motives. They longed to flood the world with light—to raise the masses of the human race from the depths of misery and degradation to the loftiest heights of happiness by the cultivation of the moral and intellectual faculties. Such aims could not be pursued or proposed a hundred years ago without exposing those who propounded and followed them to the risks of being excommunicated by the Church and prosecuted by the State. It was necessary to work as silently and invisibly as the mole.

"The Association," continues Weishaupt, "must be gradual. Its first task must be to form the young members. As these multiply and advance, they become the apostles of beneficence, and the work is now on foot, and advances with a speed increasing every day. The slightest observation shows that nothing will so much contribute to increase the zeal of the members as secret union. We see with what keenness and zeal the frivolous business of Freemasonry is conducted by persons knit together by the secrecy of their union. It is needless to inquire into the causes of the zeal which secrecy produces. It is an universal fact, confirmed by the history of every

age. Let this circumstance of our Constitution, therefore, be directed to this noble purpose, and all the objections urged against it by jealous tyranny and affrighted superstition will vanish. The Order will work silently and securely; and though the generous benefactors of the human race are thus deprived of the applause of the world, they have the noble pleasure of seeing the work prosper in their hands."

It was probably for the better concealment of their operations, in the event of their correspondence falling into hands for which it was not intended, that the Illuminati adopted the Persian reckoning of time, and gave feigned names to persons and places, derived from ancient history and geography. Weishaupt assumed the name of Spartacus, Zwackh that of Cato, and Baron Knigge was called Philo. Bavaria became Achaia, and Austria, Egypt; Munich was known as Athens, Ingolstadt as Eleusis, Vienna as Rome, and so on through all the countries and cities of Central Europe.

The extent to which Illuminism borrowed from the Masonic system is shown in the following classification of degrees, as given by the best authorities:—

I. SEMINARIES:—1, Probationary; 2, Novitiate; 3, Minerval; 4, *Illuminatus minor;* 5, Magistrate.

II. FREEMASONRY:—1, Symbolic: A, Apprentice—B, Fellow-Craftsman—C, Master; 2, Scotch: A, *Illuminatus major*, or Scotch novice—B, *Illuminatus dirigens*, or Scotch knight.

III. MYSTERIES: 1, Inferior: A, Presbyter, or Priest—B, *Princeps*, or Regent; 2, Superior: A, *Magus*—B, *Rex*.

The only ostensible members of the Order were the Minervals, who were found in most of the Masonic lodges, and to whom candidates for Illumination had to make known their wishes. The Minerval to whom they applied intimated their desire to a superior, who reported it to a council. No notice was taken of the application for some time, but the candidate was kept under observation, in order that a sound judgment might be formed as to his fitness. Upon this point Weishaupt's instructions respecting the initiations were:—"Whoever does not close his ears to the lamentations of the miserable, nor his heart to gentle pity; whoever is the friend and brother of the unfortunate; whoever has a heart capable of love and friendship; whoever is steadfast in adversity, unwearied in the carrying out of whatever has been once engaged in, undaunted in the overcoming of difficulties; whoever does not mock and despise the weak; whoever has a soul susceptible of conceiving great designs, desirous of rising superior to all base motives, and of distinguishing itself by deeds of benevolence; whoever shuns idleness; whoever considers no knowledge as unessential which he may have the opportunity of acquiring, regarding the knowledge of mankind as his chief study; whoever, when truth and virtue are in question, is sufficiently courageous to follow the dictates of his own heart, despising the approbation of the multitude—such a one is a proper candidate."

If the candidate was deemed ineligible for admission into the Order, no notice was taken of his application; if the results of the observation were favourable, he received an invitation to a conference with a superior of the Order, who was always unknown to him, and

by whom he was required to read and sign the following obligation :—

"I, A. B., hereby bind myself, by my honour and good name, forswearing all mental reservation, never to reveal by hint, word, writing, or in any manner whatever, even to my most trusted friend, anything that shall be said or done to me respecting my wished-for reception, and this whether my reception shall follow or not, I being previously assured that it shall contain nothing injurious to religion, the State, or to good manners. I promise that I will make no intelligible extract from any papers which shall be shown to me, now or during my novitiate. All this I swear, as I am, and as I hope to continue, a man of honour."

He was then introduced to an *Illuminatus dirigens*, who perhaps was known to him, and whom he was directed to regard as his instructor in the doctrines and mysteries of the Order. A register, called "The Table," was produced, in which he entered the particulars of his name, age, birthplace, rank, residence, profession, and favourite studies; after which his preceptor read to him the discourse upon the nature and objects of the Order from which extracts have been given in the foregoing pages. He was then required to answer in writing the following questions :—

"What advantages he hopes to derive from being a member of the Order? What he most particularly wishes to learn? What questions relative to the life, prospects, and duties of man, as an individual and as a citizen, he wishes to have discussed with him? In what respects he thinks he can be of use to the Order?

Who are his parents, relatives, friends, and correspondents? Whom he deems proper persons to be received into the Order, or whom he thinks unfit for it, with the reasons in both cases?"

When the Minerval was deemed eligible for advancement to the next grade, that of *Illuminatus minor*, he was informed that the aim of the Order was "to make of the human race, without distinction of nation, condition, or profession, one good and happy family." If he assented to the desirability of this result, he was required to sign a new obligation in the following terms:—

"I, A. B., protest before you, the worthy Plenipotentiary of the venerable Order into which I desire to be admitted, that I acknowledge my natural weakness and inability, and that I, with all my possessions, rank, honours, and titles which I hold in political society, am only a man; I can enjoy these things only through my fellow-men, and through them also I may lose them. The approbation and consideration of my fellow-men are indispensable, and I must try to preserve them by all my talents. These I will never use to the prejudice of the universal good, but will oppose with all my might the enemies of the human race and of political society. I will embrace every opportunity of saving mankind, by cultivating my understanding and my affections, and by imparting all important knowledge, as the statutes of this Order require of me. I bind myself to perpetual silence and unshaken loyalty and submission to the Order, in the persons of my superiors; here making a faithful and complete surrender of my private judgment, my own will, and every narrow-minded employment of

my power and influence. I pledge myself to account the good of the Order as my own, and am ready to serve it with my fortune, my honour, and my blood. Should I, through omission, neglect, passion, or wickedness, behave contrary to the good of the Order, I subject myself to whatever reproof or punishment my superiors shall enjoin. The friends and enemies of the Order shall be my friends and enemies, and with respect to both I will conduct myself as directed by the Order, and am ready in every lawful way to devote myself to its increase and promotion, and therein to employ all my ability. All this I promise and protest, without secret reservation, according to the intention of the Society which requires from me this engagement. This I do as I am, and as I hope to continue, a man of honour."

A drawn sword was then pointed at the aspirant's breast, and he was threatened with unavoidable vengeance, from which no potentate, he was warned, could defend him, if he should ever betray the Order. He was next asked—1. What aim he wished the Order to have? 2. What means he would use to advance that aim? 3. Whom he wished to exclude from the Order? 4. What topics he desired should not be discussed in it? Robison says that the ceremony of initiation resembled that of the Chevaliers du Soleil, "known to every one much conversant in Masonry;" but I believe that this degree is not so generally known as he assumed it to be.

The next stage of instruction was designed equally to inculcate veneration for the superiors of the Order, and excite desire for advancement to the higher degrees. The superiors were described as men who

had great opportunities for observation of the moral world, and whose habit of constantly occupying their minds with the great objects of the Order had enlarged their views far beyond the narrow limits of nations and kingdoms, which would one day coalesce into one great Society, in which the consideration given in the old world to rank and wealth would attach only to worth and talent. As the initiated advanced in the Order they would become acquainted with these great and good men, and share with them the grand work of illuminating the world. To whet their zeal, they were introduced to two or three of the superior members and several of their own grade, and made instructors of some Minervals, upon whose progress and conduct they were required to report to their superiors.

Thus far the progress of the Illuminati may be traced from the works published by Weishaupt in vindication of the Order, and from the evidence taken when an investigation into its nature and objects was instituted by the Elector of Bavaria. No information was given by Weishaupt concerning the higher degrees, and the witnesses summoned by the Elector were not in a position to make any satisfactory statement on the subject. Some information concerning them may be gleaned, however, from the correspondence and documents seized on the suppression of the Order, and from the account subsequently published by Baron Knigge. Among the papers was a discourse which Robison says was delivered on reception into the degree of priest or presbyter, but which, according to the official account, was used in the reception of an *Illuminatus dirigens*. In the critical narrative appended

to one portion of the published papers and letters* differences are pointed out between the two discourses, or rather between the two forms in which it was used, for it seems to have been used, with variations, for both occasions. Kings are described in this discourse as united by a tacit convention to keep the nations in subjection to their will, nobles as the retainers of despotism, patriotism as a narrow-minded prejudice. A sufficient idea of its general purport may be gleaned from the following extract:—

"Men originally led a patriarchal life, in which every father of a family was the sole lord of his house and his property, while he himself possessed general freedom and equality. But they suffered themselves to be oppressed—gave themselves up to civil societies, and formed States. By this they fell; and this is the fall of man, by which they were thrust into unspeakable misery. To get out of this state, to be freed and born again, there is no other means than the use of pure Reason, by which a general morality may be established which will put man into a condition to govern himself, regain his original worth, and dispense with all political supports, and particularly with rulers. This can be done in no other way but by secret associations, which will by degrees, and in silence, possess themselves of the government of the States, and make use of those means for this purpose which the wicked use for attaining their base ends. Princes and Priests are in particular, and κατ' εξοχην, the wicked, whose hands we must tie up by means of

* Neueste Arbeitung der Spartacus und Philo.

these associations, if we cannot root them out altogether."

Questions in politics and ethics were required to be answered in writing, and, the replies being satisfactory, the candidate put on a tunic of white linen, with a girdle of crimson silk, and was received into the priestly degree with ceremonies in which crowns and sceptres were treated as symbols of degradation. The white tunic and the crimson girdle recall the Assassins of the East, from whom the idea may have been derived.

Candidates for the degree of regent were required to be perfectly independent of the ruling powers, and only those Illuminated priests or presbyters who were known to be dissatisfied with the political institutions of the country, and desirous of reforming them, were advanced to that grade. The candidate for this degree was introduced in the garb of a slave, and bound with chains, and was not admitted until, on being told by a voice from within that only free men could enter, his conductors answered for him that his will was to be free, that he had been illuminated, and fled from those who had enslaved him to seek a refuge among the free. More questions relating to government and society had to be answered in writing, and then a human skeleton was revealed, with a crown and a sword laid at its feet. The candidate was asked whether this grim relic of humanity had been a noble or a peasant; and, on his expressing his inability to determine the point, was told that the quality of manhood was the only one that was important.

The two highest degrees were conferred only by Weishaupt, and the discourses delivered on those oc-

casions have not been printed. According to the account given in the appendix to the papers and correspondence seized by the Bavarian authorities on the suppression of the Order, but which cannot be regarded as a trustworthy authority on the subject, "the doctrines delivered in the degree of Magus or Philosophus are the same with those of Spinoza; where all is material, God and the world are the same thing, and all religion is without foundation, and the contrivance of ambitious men." The degree of Rex, according to the same doubtful authority, taught "that every peasant, citizen, and householder is a sovereign, as in the patriarchal state, and that nations must be brought back to that state by whatever means are conducible; peaceably, if it can be done so; but, if not, then by force—for all subordination must vanish from the face of the earth."

Such was the system which Weishaupt built upon the Masonic foundation, and strengthened, as he thought, with as much of Jesuitic precept and practice as could be made subservient to his purpose. The constitution of the Order has afforded a model for the numerous secret societies by which it has been succeeded. The head of the Order was styled the general, as in the Society of Jesus. He was to be elected by the Areopagus from among themselves, and was known only to that body, with which he was in constant communication and correspondence, and to the secretaries and confidential agents whom he employed in the transaction of the business of the Order. The Areopagus was a council of twelve leading members of the Order, who received reports from the national directors, and digested them for the general.

There was a national director for each State in which the Order obtained a footing, each presiding, like the general, over a council of twelve. Subordinate to the national directors were the provincials, who had also their councils of twelve, selected from the regents of the province; and the organisation was completed by the prefects, of whom there was one over every group of eight lodges. These were also chosen from the regents, and reported to the provincial councils.

The new Order progressed slowly at first, and was unknown beyond Bavaria until 1780, when the Marquis of Costanza made the tour of Northern Germany, visiting all the Masonic lodges for the purpose of introducing it. In the course of his travels he became acquainted with Baron Knigge, who had long been a brother of the Masonic Order, in which he was initiated at Cassel, but regarded it as a system of "absurd juggling tricks," and was meditating innovations in it when he became acquainted with Costanza. The latter was soon convinced that Knigge would prove a valuable member of the Order, and, having initiated him, reported of him to Weishaupt so favourably that a correspondence was originated between the Ingolstadt professor and the Hessian baron, and tended greatly to increase Knigge's zeal and enthusiasm. These qualities, combined with the influence which he derived from his social position, made Knigge a valuable co-worker with Costanza, and during 1781 the initiations multiplied rapidly. The new Minervals were men of good repute for learning and probity; and as each initiation widened the circle of the Order's influence, applications for admission were made by

hundreds from all parts of the Saxon and Rhenish circles.

In the autumn of 1781 Knigge made a journey through Bavaria, making the acquaintance of the superior members of the Order as he went, and had a conference with Weishaupt, in which it was arranged that he should use all his opportunities and influence to procure the ascendancy of Illuminism in the Masonic lodges. A great opportunity was afforded shortly afterwards by the Masonic convention at Wilhelmsbad, in which Knigge had a seat. So eager were the Freemasons of that period for new rites and doctrines that the majority of the delegates wished to be initiated into the secrets of Illuminism, which they regarded as a higher development of Masonry. Many of them were deterred, however, by finding that Knigge had no credentials from any high Masonic authority, and knowing that knavish pretenders to higher mysteries had been among them before; and the initiations were far less numerous than the applications.

Among the delegates whom Knigge succeeded in attracting within the influence of Illuminism, however, was Bode, the translator of the English humorists, and the representative in the convention of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha. Bode was a man of the most upright character, high social position, and cultivated understanding, an earnest seeker after truth, and an uncompromising enemy of sacerdotalism and superstition. He had to be convinced that Illuminism was free from "priestcraft, or any idiotic influence of that kind," before he would connect

himself with it; but once convinced that the new Order aimed at overthrowing priestcraft, and was antagonistic to the Jesuits, who were the objects of his special aversion, he advanced zealously to the degree of *Illuminatus dirigens*, imparted to Knigge all that he knew concerning the Freemasons and the Rosicrucians, and exerted himself to obtain recruits for the Illuminati in the Masonic lodges.

But while Knigge and Bode were working earnestly and successfully in extending the strength and influence of the Order in the countries north of the Maine, a cloud was gathering over the movement in Bavaria. The system was not complete when Knigge was introduced to Weishaupt, and its elaboration was entrusted to the former, and in this arrangement the seeds of dissension were sown. Weishaupt made alterations and additions in the rules, &c., without consulting Knigge, and though it was reasonable that he, as the founder of the Order, should have a veto in such matters, the manner in which it was exercised irritated his colleague, and the divergence of their views concerning the ritual and government of the Order which the controversy disclosed led to Knigge's withdrawal. This secession, though it hindered for a time the progress of Illuminism, was a less serious drawback than the result of the adaptation of the Jesuitic system to the purposes of a society aiming at mental illumination and a social democracy. The paternal system of government proved as unworkable in Illuminism as it was found to be in the Rational Society founded by Owen; and the perpetual espionage to which the members were subjected, and the account which they were required to render

periodically of their moral and intellectual progress, engendered distrust on one side and hypocrisy on the other.*

These evils would have brought about the disruption of the Order sooner or later, even if it had not been exposed to attacks from without. But, from some cause or other, the existence of the Order was suspected by the Jesuits, and they immediately exerted themselves to discover it. Information was given to the Elector of Bavaria that designs inimical to religion and government were forming in the Masonic lodges, with which he immediately communicated, reminding the brethren that the discussion of religious and political questions was forbidden by the statutes of the Order, and informing them that if this had not been the case, he would not have allowed them to establish themselves in his dominions. The Freemasons protesting their innocence of the designs imputed to them, while fresh rumours to the contrary reached the Elector, a judicial inquiry was ordered; but the results were so imperfect and unsatisfactory as to leave the matter nearly as it was found. The Illuminati were supposed by the commissioners of the Elector to be a higher degree of the Masonic Order, but no Illuminati could be found, and the Masons protested that they knew no such degree. Some of them had heard of persons called Minervals, but whether these were connected with the unknown Illuminati they knew not.

* There is evidence of these practices in the published correspondence of Weishaupt and Zwackh.

Some of the Minervals, who were indicated by their Masonic brethren, were privately examined by the Elector, but they revealed none of the secrets of the Order, and assured him that its aim was in the highest degree praiseworthy. Rumours of the existence of a secret society that was one day to rule the world continued to reach the Elector, however, and, perplexity giving way to alarm, he issued an edict forbidding the holding of Masonic lodges throughout his dominions. The Munich lodge, Theodore of Good Counsel, continued to meet, however, and its members openly reprobated the decree as absurd and unjustifiable.

The Jesuits made an attack in their own way. Two or three of them contrived to obtain admission into the Order, in which they distinguished themselves by their seeming inveterate hostility to the Society of Jesus, and, when they had learned enough for their purpose, revealed the existence of Illuminism to the Elector. In 1783 the commissioners of the Elector summoned before them, on information sworn by Canon Danzer, Professor Westenrieder, and a bookseller named Strobl, four professors of the Marianen Academy, named Utschneider, Cossandey, Renner, and Grunberger, who had been initiated several years previously, but had withdrawn from the Order, and manifested personal rancour against several of their late associates. They were not unwilling witnesses, therefore, and they told all that they knew concerning the constitution and principles of the Order, admitting, however, that there was much of which they were ignorant, none of them having advanced beyond the degree of Magistrate, and two being only Minervals.

Their statements that the Order abjured religion, country, and property, and that addresses were delivered in the lodges on liberty and equality as the inalienable rights of mankind, made a profound impression on the mind of the Elector, and he privately examined a young Bavarian noble who was an Illunant of superior grade, in the hope of eliciting some further information concerning a society that seemed so dangerous, and whose operations were veiled in so much mystery. The witness maintained, however, that the objects of the Order had been misrepresented, and expressed his conviction that there would be no objection to submit its constitution and statutes to the Elector.

The measures thereupon directed against the Illuminati were not taken with much judgment. The authorities first published the evidence of the four professors of the Marianen Academy, some of which the Illuminati declared to be false, and the rest inaccurate or perverted representations of the truth. Then the Elector issued an edict against all secret societies, followed by another expressly suppressing the Illuminati; and, having thus placed the Order on its guard, he next directed a search to be made for its papers. Of course none were found. The Illuminati said that they had been burned, the suppression of the Order having rendered them useless; but it is more probable that the failure to discover them was the result of the very simple cause, that they were not sought for in the right places.

Subsequently the house of the advocate Zwackh was searched, and letters and documents were found which revealed the authors and directors of the mysterious

system which caused so much anxiety and alarm. Weishaupt, being found to be the head and founder of the Order, was deprived of his professorship and banished from the Elector's dominions. He was offered a pension of eight hundred florins, but refused to accept it, and removed only to Ratisbon, which, being a free city of the empire, was not within the jurisdiction of the Bavarian electorate. The Marquis of Costanza and another Italian, Count Saviola, were also banished, with pensions of the amount offered to Weishaupt, which they accepted. Zwackh incurred the same penalty, and found an asylum with the Prince of Salms. Canon Hertel was deprived of his benefice, and Baron Maggenhoff suffered a month's imprisonment in a monastery.

These events occurred in 1785.

Weishaupt removed from Ratisbon to Gotha, on the invitation of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, who was an Illuminée as well as a brother of the Masonic Order, and whose friendship and protection he enjoyed until the duke's death.* His connexion with the Illuminati subsequent to his departure from Ingolstadt cannot be traced, and it has been surmised that changes in the generalship and the national and provincial directorships of the Order were made immediately after its suppression, in order that the work might be carried on with less risk of attracting suspicion. The alarm which the discovery of the objects of the Order had excited in the mind of the Elector of Bavaria had communicated itself to his brother princes

* Weishaupt lived until 1830, when he was in his eighty-third year, having been born in 1748.

of Germany, and both the Duke of Saxe-Gotha and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar withdrew from it, though the former continued the protection and pension which he had accorded to Weishaupt, to whom, however, the duchess would never speak.

According to the witnesses examined at Munich in 1783 the Order had then six hundred lodges in Bavaria, and had been extended to Austria, Saxony, Holland, and Italy; but they admitted that they had no personal knowledge of the matter, and merely repeated the information which they had received from Illuminati whom they believed to be well-informed. The statement was imperfect, and I am disposed to consider it in some respects inaccurate.

The Order appears to have been extended all over Germany, and to have penetrated into Alsace and Lorraine, some of the delegates of those provinces to the Masonic convention at Wilhelmsbad having been initiated by Baron Knigge; and among them was Dietrich, mayor of Strasburg, who a few years later figured somewhat prominently in the sanguinary events of the French Revolution. There are traces in the correspondence of Weishaupt with Zwackh and others of the Order having obtained a footing in Poland, and Robison asserts that lodges of Illuminati were established in England as early as 1784; but it seems to have been connected with Italy and Holland only through natives of those countries who resided in Germany, and the assertion that there were English Illuminati is unsupported by evidence.

So much of the statements of Robison and Barruel*

* Memoirs of the Jacobins.

is mere inference that they must be received with caution, and accepted only when they are supported by evidence. They were both so violently opposed, not merely to the acts of the French revolutionists, but to the principles of the revolution, that their sentiments received a shock from the discovery of Illuminism which disposed them to see that system in whatever resembled it; just as, amongst the present generation, there are some who see the finger of the Jesuits, others that of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, in every political event. Robison persisted that Illuminism was revived, immediately after its suppression, under another name, and in another form, all over Germany; and that, though again detected, and again broken up, it spread all over Europe. The evidence which he adduces in support of these assertions must be examined before relating the true history of the Illuminati after the suppression of the Order in Bavaria.

Weishaupt is said to have observed, when he left Ingolstadt, that the rejoicing of the Court of Munich would soon be turned into sorrow; and also that he would restore the Order with tenfold energy in twelve months. It is very probable that these menacing remarks were really made, and the inquiry may be narrowed to the mode in which Weishaupt's threats were carried into execution. According to Robison, Illuminism was revived in an association called the German Union, the history of which—or rather of the circumstances connected with its supposed detection—is as instructive as it is curious. Nicholai, the celebrated Berlin publisher, had a profound horror and detestation of the Jesuits; and, in the course of an

investigation which he made into their practices all over Germany, came into collision with Stark, famous in Masonic annals, whom he accused of being a Jesuit, and of having even submitted to the tonsure. Stark retorted by denouncing Nicholai as an Illuminant, and a paper war ensued, in the course of which the former announced that he had discovered the continued existence of Illuminism in the form of a pretended literary society called the German Union.

This startling announcement was followed by the publication of a series of papers, which it was alleged had been received, partly printed and partly in manuscript, by a publisher, who professed that he did not know whence they had come. The first of the series was a prospectus of a Reading Society; the second a form of oath, binding those who signed it to secrecy concerning the society, which was called the German Union. It was inferred by Stark that this was sent to those who forwarded subscriptions to the promoters of the society, and that those who signed it received the third document of the series, which was headed "The Plan of the XXII.," and began as follows:—"We have united in order to accomplish the aim of the exalted Founder of Christianity—viz., the enlightening of mankind and the dethronement of superstition and fanaticism, by means of the secret fraternisation of all who love the work of God." This, it was contended by Stark, could mean nothing less than Illuminism.

The attention of the authorities and the police being given to the matter, the concoction of the German Union was traced to Dr. Bahrdt, an Illuminant of abandoned character, whom Baron Knigge mentions, in his latest pamphlet on the Illuminist

controversy, in terms of the utmost contempt and abhorrence. Robison acknowledges that the Union "aimed at the entry money and annual subscriptions, and at the publication and profitable sale of Dr. Bahrdt's books;" and in his eagerness to affix the stigma of everything evil upon every one connected with the Illuminati, fails to perceive that such an object could not be that of the Order to which he ascribed it. Bahrdt, on being arrested, confessed, by implication at least, that "the enlightening of mankind," &c., was a mere pretence, and there seems no doubt that the sole object of the scheme was to prey upon the public. Unfortunately for himself, he had taken into his employment a young man named Roper, who had been expelled from his college for immoral conduct, and subsisted by vending manuscript copies of obscene poems, until he was found by Bahrdt destitute and almost starving. This wretched fellow stole from Bahrdt the papers relating to the German Union, and took them to a priest named Schütz, whose character was little better than his own, and who arranged them for publication, afterwards giving information to the police.

But the Illuminati continued to exist, though not in the form assigned to it by Robison. Some light is thrown upon the history of the Order after the retirement of Weishaupt to Gotha, by a communication that was made thirteen years afterwards to an English magazine, that "from the beginning of 1790, every concern of the Illuminati has ceased, and no lodge of Freemasons in Germany has since that period taken the least notice of them. The proofs of this assertion are found among the papers of Mr. Bode,

late Privy Councillor at Weimar, who was at the head of the Order in this part of Germany, and died in 1794."* The article from which this passage is quoted was written by Boetiger, director of the Weimar Gymnasium, who was a frequent contributor to the periodical literature of the period, and who appears to have had access to Bode's papers after the latter's decease. The doubt expressed by Barruel as to the accuracy of the statement that Illuminism ceased to exist in Germany in 1790, arose from his seeing, like Robison, Illuminism in every movement that savoured of revolution, and regarding Jacobinism as its continuation. I shall presently give reasons for believing Boetiger's statement to be correct; but there is a point in the reference to Bode which requires prior attention.

The position assigned to Bode appears to be that of National Director of Upper Saxony, in which he would have been subordinate to the Areopagus; but he was a member of that Council two or three years before the date given by Boetiger as that at which the Illuminati ceased to exist, or, as it would perhaps be more correct to say, to have an active existence. Was Bode, then, the successor of Weishaupt in the generalship of the Order? The fact may have been unknown to Boetiger, but it seems more probable that Bode should have held that office than that Boetiger should have made the mistake of assigning him a lower position than that which he is known to have held in 1788.

The introduction of Illuminism into France was

* Monthly Magazine, 1798.

effected at that date by Mirabeau, who, during his residence in Germany, was initiated by Mauvillon, a professor of the Caroline College, at Brunswick. Mauvillon, who had been initiated by Knigge, is said to have assisted Mirabeau in the production of the curious work on Illuminism,* the object of which constituted one of the literary puzzles of the last century, the picture presented being very different from the reality. Illuminism is made to appear in its pages as a compound of the Rosicrucian system and the doctrines of Swedenborg, with what object is not clear, the surmise of Barruel that it was intended to deceive the French as to the actual aims of the Illuminati not being supported by the circumstances. Why should it have been deemed necessary that the French should be deceived on this point any more than the Germans? The French brethren of the Masonic Order were as eager for novelties as those of Germany, and it was, in France as in Germany, upon the Masonic system that Illuminism was grafted.

Mirabeau rose high in the Order, and on his return to France, in September, 1788, initiated the Duke of Orleans, who was Grand Master of the Freemasons of that country, and Talleyrand. Correspondence with the Areopagus concerning the introduction of the system into France led to two members of that body, Bode and Baron Busche, the latter a lieutenant-colonel in the army of the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, being deputed for that purpose. Barruel asserts that the whole of the Masonic lodges comprised in the Grand Orient, two hundred and sixty-six in number,

* Essai sur les Illuminées.

were "illuminated" by the end of March, 1789; and there is no doubt that, with the ground so well prepared by the works of Voltaire and Rousseau, D'Alembert and Diderot, and with the example and influence of the Duke of Orleans, and the exertions of men such as Mirabeau, Talleyrand, Sièyes, and Condorcet, the system spread with rapidity.

It penetrated into Switzerland about the same time, and was grafted on the Masonic lodges of Berne and Geneva, as was discovered in 1794, when some political arrests were made, and patents, as the certificates of applications were called, found among the papers of the accused.

Such was the position of Illuminism within two years of the time when, according to Boetiger, it ceased to have any influence in Germany. Barruel attempts to connect the Jacobin Club with the Order, but he adduces no other evidence than the similarity of the principles of the two organisations, and the fact that Mirabeau and Sièyes were members of the Breton Committee. Such reasoning is common to the opponents of what is vaguely called *la Révolution*, from the Popes who have fulminated Bulls, condemning in one category Freemasonry, Jacobinism, Jansenism, and Carbonarism, to the Abbé Defourny, who asserts that the Commune and the International were known in England in 1839, under the name of Chartism.*

The truth is, that the Revolution had, in 1790,

* Address delivered at the Cercle Catholique in 1873, and inserted in the pamphlet Les Trois Questions Capitales: Obéissance, Droit des Gens, Revanche.

placed France, and, in a less degree, the neighbouring countries, in the situation which Lamartine describes as placing Freemasonry in a different position in England to that which the Order occupied on the Continent. Constitutional government and a free press leave no room for secret societies to work in; and in 1790 France spoke so openly in the National Assembly, in the Jacobin Club, and in the columns of a score of journals, all breathing revolution, that the occupation of the Illuminati was gone. "We are all Freemasons now," a jubilant revolutionist of that period is said to have remarked; and he might have substituted Illuminati for Freemasons, and increased the force of the observation. The Bastille had fallen, and with it the prestige of absolute power; the people were on their feet, armed with vote and musket; the inspiring strains of the Marseillaise Hymn filled the air. What need, then, of the Illuminati?

CHAPTER II.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

WHILE the sun of liberty was rising in France from a blood-red horizon, and the nations around were watching its advent with mingled hopefulness and apprehension, a few ardent spirits among the Protestants of Ireland became inspired with the idea that, since all men love freedom, the desire to obtain it would cause Irishmen to forget the differences of race and creed among them, and unite for the furtherance of the common object. At this distance of time, when the field in which those pioneers of civil and religious freedom in the sister island had to labour can be surveyed with calm deliberation, the prospect of the political harvest which they hoped to garner appears to have been far from brilliant. Social and religious discords were never more rife in Ireland, or manifested with greater fierceness and violence, than when Samuel Neilson, a Belfast draper, conceived the idea of an association which should unite Protestants and Catholics for the promotion of Parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. Lawless associations spread over the country, and filled it with violence and terror. The Peep-of-Day Boys burned the houses and maimed the cattle of the Catholics, and the Defenders retaliated by similar outrages upon

the property of the Protestants. The Catholic Committee, representing the aristocracy and the clergy of the old faith rather than the nation, evinced no sympathy with the movement for Parliamentary reform. The Government looked coldly upon both, and maintained an attitude of inaction, refraining alike from measures of amelioration and endeavours at pacification, and regarding the antagonistic bands of nocturnal ravagers with less disapprobation than would have been shown towards a resolution of a public meeting, or an article in a newspaper, condemnatory of its policy.

In the province of Ulster political feeling was more prominent than the religious strife which has since caused blood to flow in its towns on so many unhappy occasions. The Orange lodges were not then in existence. The Parliamentary reformers had become, in 1791, convinced that they could not conduct their agitation to a successful conclusion without a previous union of the Catholic and Protestant sections of the nation, the former constituting at least two-thirds of the Irish population. Neilson, who was a member of the volunteers, from the formation of which so much had been expected, propounded this idea to two of his friends, Macracken and Russell, the latter an officer in the army, in the beginning of October, 1791. "Our efforts for reform," he said, "have hitherto been ineffectual, and they deserved to be so, for they have been selfish and unjust, as not including the rights of the Catholics in the claim we put forward for ourselves." Russell suggested that they should communicate their views to his friend Tone, whose pamphlet on the claims of the Catholics had

just been published, and was attracting much attention. Neilson assented, and Russell went to Dublin to invite Tone to a conference.

Theobald Wolfe Tone, who was brought prominently on the field of Irish politics by this invitation, was at that time a briefless barrister, in his twenty-eighth year, with a greater inclination for politics than for the law. He had before this time founded a club which combined political discussions with conviviality, and which, though it soon broke up, made him acquainted with the elder Emmet, whom he describes as "a man completely after my own heart, of a great and comprehensive mind, of the warmest and sincerest affection for his friends, and of firm and steady adherence to his principles, to which he has sacrificed much, as I know, and would, I am sure, if necessary, sacrifice his life."* He was intimate also with Keogh, and through him became acquainted with the more liberal members of the Catholic committee.

He readily accompanied Russell to Belfast, where, after three weeks' conferences and correspondence, the Association of United Irishmen was organised on the basis of the following resolutions, which were drawn up by himself:—

"1. That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce. 2. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and

* Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone.

radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament. 3. That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion."

Tone then returned to Dublin, with instructions to cultivate relations with prominent men of the popular party, and, if possible, to form a branch society of United Irishmen in that city. He contrived to become acquainted with Napper Tandy, an active agitator, and through him with others; and, in a week or two, a branch society was formed, the Hon. Simon Butler being its chairman, and Napper Tandy, secretary. The resolutions of the Belfast society were unanimously adopted, and correspondence opened with the United Irishmen of the northern city.

The United Irishmen of that day were not a secret society, the contrary statement of Clifford, in the note appended to his translation of Barruel's "Memoirs of the Jacobins," proceeding from his attributing the constitution of the association of 1798 to the earlier society. They were not even imbued with republican sympathies or aims.

"At this time," says Wolfe Tone, "the establishment of a republic was not the immediate object of my speculations. My object was to secure the independence of my country under any form of government, to which I was led by a hatred of England so deeply rooted in my nature that it was rather an instinct than a principle. I left to others, better qualified for the inquiry, the investigation and merits of the different forms of government, and I contented myself with labouring on my own system, which was luckily in perfect coincidence as to its operation with

that of those men who viewed the question on a broader and juster scale than I did at the time I mention. The club was scarcely formed before I lost all pretensions to anything like influence in their measures, a circumstance which at first mortified me not a little; and perhaps, had I retained more weight in their councils, I might have prevented, as on some occasions I laboured unsuccessfully to prevent, their running into indiscretions which gave their enemies but too great advantages over them. It is easy to be wise after the event. So it was, however, that I soon sunk into obscurity in the club, which, however, I had the satisfaction to see daily increasing in numbers and consequence."

As soon as the society was fairly in operation, the efforts of Neilson and Tone were directed to the reconciliation of the Defenders and the Peep-of-Day Boys, and the latter made a tour through the country for that purpose, his journal of which abounds with vivid illustrations of the moral and social condition of the Irish people at that period. The endeavours of the United Irishmen to bring about the pacification of the country were unsuccessful, on the whole, though some good was effected here and there; but the association rapidly grew stronger and more influential, the supineness with which the Government viewed the disorders of the country, and the arbitrary and often lawless proceedings of the magistrates, causing adhesions to multiply faster than the greatest efforts of the leaders could have done.

As their numbers increased their views ceased to be bounded by Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform. They began to think of the possibility of

achieving the independence of Ireland, to cultivate closer relations with the Defenders, and to entertain the idea of assistance from France. The association, pervaded by a new spirit, assumed a new organisation. In the spring of 1795 it was reconstituted on a system closely resembling that of the Illuminati, and characterised by Harwood as "a sort of pyramidical hierarchy of sedition, with an infinite number of small local societies for the base, and gradually towering up, through the nicely fitted gradations of baronial, county, and provincial committees, to the apex of a national executive directory."*

The local societies were formed by the union of twelve members living in the same street or neighbourhood, and one of whom was elected to the post of secretary. The secretaries of five local societies constituted a lower baronial committee, and delegates from ten such committees formed an upper baronial committee. Delegates from the committees of the latter class constituted the county committees, each of which returned two or three delegates to the provincial committees. By and from these last five members were elected by ballot to form the national executive directory, which had the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body. The election was so conducted that only the secretaries of the provincial committees knew who had been elected, and the instructions of the executive were transmitted by one of the number to the secretaries of the provincial committees, and thence downward through the secretaries of the county and baronial committees to

* History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

the local societies, the whole of the proceedings being enveloped in the utmost secrecy, and presenting a remarkable combination of democracy below with absolutism at the top.

Secrecy was declared to be necessary for rendering "the bond of union more cohesive and the spirit of union more ardent, to envelop the plan with ambiguity, to facilitate its own agency, and to confound and terrify its enemies by ignorance of its design, extent, and direction." An oath of secrecy and fidelity took the place of the simple declaration formerly made by members on joining the Association, and the confession of political faith was so modified that it might be made equally by republicans and by constitutional reformers. As thus modified, the test stood as follows :—

"I, A. B., do voluntarily declare that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare that neither hopes nor fears, rewards nor punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies for any act or expression of theirs done or made, collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation."

Clifford says that the Society assumed from the first "the secrecy and somewhat of the ceremonial of Freemasonry;" but this is a mistake. There was no secrecy until the Society was reconstituted in 1795,

and very little of the Masonic element at any time. He adds the rather ridiculous statement, that the members wore constantly about the neck an amulet, "containing the great principle which unites the brotherhood in letters of gold on a ribbon striped with all the original colours, enclosed in a sheath of white silk, so as to represent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the abolition of all superficial distinctions, and all colours and shades of difference, for the sake of one illustrious end." I can find no trace of the wearing of such an amulet in any of the memoirs which I have consulted. The only symbols in use among the United Irishmen were the Irish harp, with or without a star over it, the shamrock, and clasped hands, which appear on their seals, and were, at a later period, displayed on their flags. There were no ceremonies resembling those of Freemasonry used in the initiation of members. The candidate for admission into the Society was merely taken into a room apart from that in which the members were assembled, and sworn upon the New Testament. There was no grip in use, but when a member desired to test a stranger, he said, "I know U;" to which the other, if initiated, responded, "I know N;" and the dialogue was, if it was thought necessary, continued in that manner all through the letters composing the words United Irishmen.

According to the memoir drawn up in 1798 by Arthur O'Connor, Macnevin, and the elder Emmet, it "was long before the skeleton of this organisation was filled up. While the formation of these societies was in agitation, the friends of liberty were gradually, but with a timid step, advancing towards republicanism.

They began to be convinced that it would be as easy to obtain a revolution as reform, so obstinately was the latter resisted; and as the conviction impressed itself on their minds they were inclined not to give up the struggle, but to extend their views. It was for this reason that in their test the words are, 'an equal representation of all the people of Ireland,' without inserting the word Parliament. This test embraced both the republicans and the reformers, and left to future circumstances to decide to which point the common strength should be directed; but still the whole body, we are convinced, would rejoice to stop short at reform. Another consideration, however, led reflecting United Irishmen to look towards a republic and separation from England. This was the war with France. They clearly perceived that their strength was not likely to become speedily equal to wresting from the English and borough interest in Ireland even a reform; foreign assistance would, therefore, perhaps become necessary. But foreign assistance could only be hoped for in proportion as the object to which it would be applied was important to the party giving it. A reform in the Irish Parliament was no object to the French; a separation of Ireland from England was a mighty one indeed. Thus they reasoned,—Shall we, between two objects, confine ourselves to the least valuable, even though it is equally difficult to be obtained, if we consider the relations of Ireland with the rest of Europe?"

The formation of the Orange association gave a new impetus to the United Irishmen, and the affiliations multiplied rapidly. It is evident from Tone's Journal that the leaders had already begun in 1795 to discuss

the question of revolt and the French alliance; but the first step in that direction was taken by the French Government, as the agent of which, a Protestant clergyman named Jackson, who had been some time resident in Paris, visited England and Ireland, in order to ascertain the views and feelings of the people. Jackson, who was far too simple for such a mission, confided his object to a solicitor named Cockayne, who, notwithstanding the long friendship between them, betrayed him to the British Government. Jackson had obtained an introduction to Tone, who, though he suspected him to be a spy of the Government, entrusted him with a paper on the state of Ireland, and the probabilities of the success of a French invasion; and this criminatory document was found upon Jackson when he was arrested.

On learning that Jackson was in prison (where he committed suicide) and that this paper had been found upon him, Tone adopted a course so much to his own advantage and that of the United Irishmen that it is difficult to understand the motives of the Government in acceding to it. Through a friend, he negotiated with the Government for his safety, stipulating that he should be allowed to leave Ireland, making no disclosures, and giving no pledge for the future. The assent of the Government being obtained, it was arranged between himself and the other leaders of the United Irishmen that he should proceed to Philadelphia, and there open a communication with the French Government, with a view to obtaining its assistance. On arriving in that city, he waited upon Adet, the French Minister, who gave him no definite encouragement, but desired him to draw up a memoir

on the state of Ireland, to be submitted to the French Government.

Several months had elapsed without any response, and he was preparing to settle in America, when he received letters from Russell, Keogh, and other friends in Ireland, acquainting him with the rapid progress of the Society, and urging him, in the strongest manner, to go to Paris, and endeavour to obtain a promise of material aid in support of an insurrection. He consulted his wife and his sister, both of whom urged him to go to Paris; and then he visited Adet, who, having just received despatches from the Directory, entered heartily into the plan, and gave him credentials to Delacroix, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. Tone's brother returned to Ireland, conveying to the executive committee of the United Irishmen the intelligence of what was being done, and to everybody else the announcement that he had quietly settled down as a farmer in New Jersey; and, in the beginning of 1796, Tone himself crossed the Atlantic again, and proceeded to Paris, bearing a letter in cipher from Adet to Delacroix.

He found the French Minister well disposed to entertain the proposal of an invasion of Ireland, but totally ignorant of Irish politics and the state of the country; and General Clarke, then Minister of War, unprepared to render assistance to the requisite extent, and equally ignorant of the country of which his father was a native. Only two thousand men and twenty thousand muskets were promised, and Tone insisted that less than five thousand men would be useless. He was becoming discouraged and anxious, when Monroe, then ambassador of the United States in

Paris, advised him to obtain an audience of Carnot. The "organiser of victory" listened to him attentively, and showed by his remarks that he had thought of the matter before. He gave no definite assurance of support, however, and Tone lingered on in Paris, alternately sanguine and depressed, until May, when Carnot informed him that an agent had been sent to Ireland to ascertain the actual state of affairs, and report thereon to the Directory.

In connexion with these negotiations, the memoir drawn up by O'Connor, Emmet, and Macnevin in 1798 shows that, in May, an important meeting of the directorate of the United Irishmen was held, "in consequence of a letter from one of the Society who had emigrated on account of his political opinions." Tone's Memoirs have shown who that emigrant was. At this meeting "it was contended," says the memoir, "that, even according to the constitution and example of 1688, when the protection of the constituted authorities was withdrawn from the subject, allegiance, the reciprocal duty, ceased to bind; when the wrongs of the people were not redressed, they had a right to resist, and were free to seek for allies wherever they were to be found. The English revolutionists of 1688 called in the aid of a foreign republic to overthrow their oppressors. There had sprung up in our own time a much more mighty republic, which, by its offers of assistance to break the chains of slavery, had drawn on itself a war with the enemies of our freedom, and now particularly tendered us its aid. These arguments prevailed; and it was resolved to employ the proffered assistance for the purpose of separation. We were aware it was suspected that negotiations between the United Irishmen and

the French were carried on at an earlier period than that now alluded to; but we solemnly declare that such suspicion was ill-founded. In consequence of this determination of the executive, an agent was despatched to the French Directory, who acquainted them with it, stated the dispositions of the people, and the measures which caused them."

The agent referred to was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a younger son of the Duke of Leinster, and then in his thirty-fourth year. He had entered the army when seventeen years of age, and served with distinction in America; but retired from the profession of arms in 1790, on being told that he had barred his way to further promotion by declining to support the Government as member for Kildare. At the period referred to in the memoir he went to Switzerland, accompanied by Arthur O'Connor, a gentleman of his own age, who had been called to the bar, but, having a large estate, had never exercised his profession. Fitzgerald and O'Connor had an interview near the French frontier with General Hoche, who had been selected by the Directory for the command of the expedition which it had at length been determined to despatch to Ireland, and fully satisfied him that Tone and his views were trustworthy. At the end of June, Tone was informed that the expedition would shortly be undertaken, that Hoche would conduct it, and that he should himself have the position of general of a brigade. A regular communication had now been established between France and Ireland, and Tone received letters from the directorate of the United Irishmen, informing him that fourteen counties, including the whole of the north of Ireland, were completely organised for the

purpose of throwing off the English yoke, and that the organisation of the remainder was rapidly advancing.

On the 12th of July, Tone had an interview with Hoche at the Luxembourg Palace, and was informed that the expedition would be in great force, and accompanied by a large quantity of arms, ammunition, stores, and artillery, and that the general would, for the sake of his own reputation, take care that all the arrangements should be made on a proper scale. It consisted, in fact, when it sailed from Brest on the 16th of December, of forty-three vessels, carrying fifteen thousand men, forty-one thousand muskets, twenty-nine cannon, sixty-one thousand barrels of gunpowder, and seven millions of cartridges. The British Government had got scent of the enterprise by some means, and one of the spies in Brest endeavoured to obtain from the printer a copy of the proclamation intended to be circulated in Ireland, in the event of a landing being effected; but the printer gave information of the endeavour to tamper with him to Hoche, who desired him to print a special edition of a single copy, in which Portugal and Portuguese should be substituted for Ireland and Irishmen, wherever they occurred. This was done; and Sir John Colpoys, who had been watching the fleet in Brest harbour for some time, being deceived by this spurious proclamation, sailed away with the Channel fleet at the critical moment, leaving the sea open to the French expedition.

Bantry Bay was not originally intended to be the place of disembarkation, and its selection after the dispersion of the fleet by a storm had disconcerted

Hoche's plans was an after-thought. The original intention has never transpired, and was said to have been known only to Hoche and O'Connor. The latter did not divulge it when under examination two years later, but he appears to have subsequently communicated it to other persons, having told Madden in 1842 that the secret was known to two persons then living.* Why it should have been withheld from the world when nearly half a century had elapsed since the failure of the expedition, and the United Irishmen had become a part of the past history of their country, and their secrets of no more consequence than those of the Illuminati, has not been explained, and cannot now even be conjectured.

The leaders of the United Irishmen were deceived concerning Hoche's expedition as much as the British Government. A messenger arrived from France in the latter part of November, with the intelligence that their allies might be expected very shortly; and a few days afterwards, when the messenger was on his way back to France, they received a letter from an apparently trustworthy source, informing them that the expedition had been deferred, and would not sail until the spring. This threw the directorate off their guard, and prevented measures being taken to prepare the people of the south of Ireland for the coming descent upon the coast. There is some mystery about the source of this false intelligence, unless we assume that there were reservations among the members of the Government, and that all the secrets of Downing Street were not confided to Dublin Castle; for Emmet,

* Madden's Memoirs of the United Irishmen.

when under examination in 1798, was interrogated concerning the cause of the popular quietude while the French were in Bantry Bay, which seemed to have somewhat puzzled the secret committee by which the examination of the United Irishmen was conducted.

In view of the impending invasion, the organisation of the United Irishmen had received an important modification in October. It was already admirably adapted for the assembling of large bodies of men at a very brief notice, and the change which it then underwent, though significant, extended only to the nomenclature. The local secretaries became sergeants, the lower baronial delegates were transformed into captains, and the delegates of the upper baronial committees into colonels. The colonels of each county recommended three of their number for the post of adjutant-general, and from those names the directorate selected one. The generals were appointed by the directorate. Harwood attributes this change from a civil to a military constitution to the formation of Yeomanry Corps, in which the Catholics, though not excluded, were received with such evident suspicion and dislike that very few of the farmers of that communion joined the new force. It is obvious, however, that the Catholics might have outnumbered the Protestants in the Yeomanry Corps, if they had been so disposed; and the resolution of the United Irishmen to resort to arms sufficiently explains the conversion of the Society into an army, without the supposition of other and minor motives.

Arming and drilling went on throughout the autumn of 1796, those who were unable to buy a musket or bayonet being provided with pikes. Men

were drilled by twelves in the houses of members, and in larger numbers on lonely wastes, by the light of the moon. The number of United Irishmen enrolled at this time in the province of Ulster alone was about a hundred thousand, and there were probably nearly as many in the province of Munster, and more than half that number in the province of Leinster. How many men of this large force were armed with muskets is unknown; but there can be no doubt that the majority had only pikes, with the addition in some cases of a pistol. They are said to have possessed "some artillery,"* but the guns were probably few and small.

The failure of Hoche's expedition disposed the leaders of the United Irishmen to more moderate courses, and the concession of Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform would have been received with satisfaction, and been followed by the disarming and dissolution of the Society. Such a settlement of the Irish difficulty was thought probable in the beginning of 1797, but the illusion soon faded out, and the determination of the Government to adopt with vigour a policy of repression left the organisers of the movement no other course than resistance. Insurrection could be, in the existing condition of the country, only a question of time, and they could not withdraw from its direction without bringing eternal dishonour on their names.

All through the winter troops were poured into the country, the yeomanry armed and trained, hundreds of arrests made, suspected persons banished

* Harwood.

without trial, and outrages committed by the troops and the yeomanry which rivalled those of the Defenders and the Peep-of-Day Boys. The office of the *Northern Star*, a Belfast journal conducted by Neilson and representing the United Irishmen, was one day attacked by soldiers, who broke open the doors, destroyed the printing presses, and threw the type into the street. No redress for such outrages could be obtained, the authorities seeming to regard persons suspected of disaffection to the Government as beyond the pale of the law. Landowners and substantial farmers who fell under the suspicion of the authorities had soldiers quartered upon them, often in numbers and for periods which made the visitation a heavy tax upon their means. This practice seems not to have been without disadvantages to the Government, for, on one occasion, when a large party of soldiers was billeted upon Roger O'Connor, the brother of Arthur, and father of Feargus O'Connor, the officers sat over their wine until they were all more or less intoxicated, when their host proceeded to the servants' hall, where the rank and file were revelling, and induced the whole of them to take the oath of the United Irishmen. Two or three of them were afterwards shot on suspicion of disloyalty, but none of them informed against O'Connor.*

Under these circumstances, arming and drilling were actively proceeded with among the United Irishmen, and by the spring the system was in its fullest vigour. The organisation was extensive and efficient, the zeal and confidence of the people unbounded, and

* Autobiography of Feargus O'Connor.

the temper of a large proportion of the militia such that their co-operation in an insurrection was deemed certain. Some changes took place in the directorate which tended to give additional vigour to the movement. Arthur O'Connor had been elected in the preceding November, and Thomas Addis Emmet and Oliver Bond, a barrister and a wholesale woollen-draper, became his colleagues early in 1797. Madden says that Bond declined to act officially, but continued in the confidence of his co-directors, and was consulted by them on all important occasions. As the instructions sent to the provincial committees were signed by only one member of the directorate, it seems that this must be understood to mean only that Bond never signed such instructions. It is not certain who the other members of the directorate were at this time, the precaution just referred to rendering it difficult, and in some instances impossible, to determine who composed the executive at any particular period. Madden says that Macormick, a Dublin manufacturer, was one, "though not ostensibly, or by specific appointment, belonging to it." This is unintelligible, as Macormick could not have sat on the directorate, according to the constitution of the Society, without having been elected. Lord Cloncurry is said to have been a member of the directorate at one time, but took no active part in the proceedings.*

The new directorate had scarcely been constituted when O'Connor was arrested, apparently on a vague suspicion only, since he was liberated, after an incarceration of six months, on undertaking to surrender

* Madden.

for trial whenever called upon, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond becoming bail for him. O'Connor afterwards stated that shots were twice fired at the window of his room while he was in prison, his inference being that the authorities having no evidence against him wished to remove him by assassination. The accusation would be too dreadful for belief if a warder named Hasset had not deposed, on O'Connor's trial in the following year, that the shots were actually fired by a soldier. O'Connor added, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh, that a third attempt, and a payment of money to the soldier by a King's messenger, could have been deposed to by the wife of the gaoler, if she had not been ill at the time. Throughout this year the condition of Ireland was terrible. The Defenders and the Peep-of-Day Boys, the United Irishmen and the constituted authorities, the troops and the yeomanry, vied with each other in deeds of lawlessness. The report of a secret committee sitting at Dublin Castle states that, in order "to deter the well-affected from joining the Yeomanry Corps, and to render the administration altogether ineffectual, the most active system of terror was put in operation. Persons enrolled in the yeomanry, magistrates, witnesses, jurors—in a word, every class and distinction of people who ventured to support the laws —became objects of the most cruel persecution in their persons, property, and even in the line of their business; and multitudes were compelled to take illegal oaths, and profess adherence to the party as a means of security. In the latter end of 1796, and beginning of 1797, the loyal inhabitants of Ulster suffered most severely from the depredations of the United Irish-

men. Throughout the province they were stripped of their arms. The most horrid murders were perpetrated by large bodies of men in open day; and it became nearly impossible to bring the offenders to justice, from the inevitable destruction that awaited witnesses or jurors who dared to perform their duty."

There is no evidence whatever that the murders committed by or attributed to the United Irishmen were ordered by the chiefs of that Society as part of a system of terror; but that such crimes were committed by members of that organisation is undeniable. The Government made no earnest endeavours to repress crimes proceeding from the antagonism of race and creed until, as the outrages of the Peep-of-Day Boys set in motion the Defenders, those of the Orangemen provoked retaliation on the part of the United Irishmen. Then they endeavoured to fix on the latter the odium of all the outrages which could not be traced to the Orangemen or the military, and pointed to the advocacy of assassination by the *Union Star*, a Dublin journal professing to emanate from the United Irishmen, as proof of the justice of the accusation. This journal, the publication of which commenced in 1797, was not supported by the United Irishmen, whose leaders repudiated it, and whose organs denounced it, and it was never prosecuted by the Government, as the *Press* (conducted by O'Connor) and the *Northern Star* were. If any further evidence of its being subsidised by the Government for the basest purposes is required, it is to be found in the fact that Cox, its proprietor and editor, was subsequently rewarded with a pension.

The Government, which had for years regarded the

growth of anarchy and crime with supineness, had now commenced a course of vigorous and systematic repression; and as every day confirmed their apprehensions of the extent and power of the United Irishmen, power was obtained from Parliament to disarm the people, and to disperse by force assemblages which might be deemed to have a tendency to riot, without waiting for the authorisation of a magistrate. It was easier, however, to determine upon this policy than to realise it. As Arthur O'Connor afterwards reminded Lord Clare, they could not frame a bill of indictment against a whole people; and the United Irishmen had now assumed a formidable extent and consistency. Very little progress could be made in disarming the people, who were exasperated rather than subdued by the proclamation of martial law, and meetings were heard of only after they had been held. Bribery and espionage were, therefore, resorted to on an extensive scale, and on the 14th of April information was obtained by these means that two committees of United Irishmen were sitting in Belfast. Troops thereupon surrounded the house where the committees met, and fifteen persons were arrested, and papers seized, which were referred to a secret committee sitting at Dublin Castle.

"It appears," says the report of this committee, "from a variety of evidence, that no means are neglected for establishing their constitution and enforcing obedience to their laws; that contributions are levied to defray the expenses of the society; that threats and intimidations are employed against witnesses and jurymen, as a means to prevent their associates from being brought to justice, and that a

committee is appointed to defray the expenses of defending such as are brought to trial, or are in prison; that the assistance of the French is expected, and held forth as negotiated for; that at Belfast alone exist eighty societies at least, and that emissaries are employed to extend these societies; that arms and ammunition are procured, pikes bought, officers appointed, military discipline recommended, and enforced by oaths to be taken by officers and men; provision for the families of their Society during their exertions in the field; that suspected persons are brought to account for their actions; and it has been stated in evidence that a tribunal is appointed for this purpose, who try the offenders in their absence, and determine their punishment, even to the death."

Harwood pronounces the latter passages false, and no evidence was adduced in support of the allegation, which may have been fabricated by the spies and informers upon whom the Government depended, in a great measure, for their information. That such horrible means of earning their blood-money were resorted to by those infamous wretches is established by the subsequent confession of one of them, a scoundrel named Newell, an artist by profession, and a traitor by inborn disposition, who betrayed the secrets of the United Irishmen to the Government, and then sold the secrets of the Government to his former associates. This man not only declared that Cooke, the secretary of the Irish Government, made additions to his affidavits, and prompted him to denounce men whom he did not know, but confessed that, when giving evidence before the secret committee, he "improved largely on the hints and instructions Mr. Cooke had given, pro-

pagated circumstances which never had, nor I suppose ever will happen, increased the number of United Irishmen, and the quantity of arms and ammunition, and fabricated stories which helped to terrify them, and raised me high in their estimation as a man whose perfect knowledge of this business made his information of the highest importance." After ten months of a life "fraught," as he confesses, "with every scene of infamy, luxury, and debauchery, during which I must have cost the Government no less than two thousand pounds," this execrable wretch left Dublin, and made the confession from which the foregoing passages have been quoted.

The Government, alarmed by the extent and efficiency of the organisation of the United Irishmen, now offered the Royal pardon to all who surrendered and took the oath of allegiance on or before the 24th of June, excepting persons guilty of felony, and those already in custody. The directorate, aware that the measures of the Government would not allow them to be inactive, sent Lewins, a Dublin attorney, to Paris in March, 1797, to urge the French Government to make another effort in support of the cause of revolution in Ireland. The communication was difficult at that time, and Lewins had to travel viâ Hamburg, under the assumed name of Thompson. Rheynhart, the French Minister at Hamburg, furnished him with credentials to Hoche, with whom he had a conference at Frankfort, whence he proceeded to Paris. Neither Lewins nor Dr. Macnevin, who followed him in June, with an elaborate memoir on the state of Ireland, could at first obtain from the Directory more than professions of sympathy and promises of the vaguest

character; but in July the directorate received a letter from the former, informing them that an expedition, intended for the invasion of Ireland, would shortly be despatched from the Texel. The Dutch fleet being encountered and defeated by Admiral Duncan, the hopes which the United Irishmen based on foreign aid were again frustrated; but towards the close of the year, Lewins, who had remained in Paris as the accredited agent of the Society, after the return of Macnevin to Ireland in October, informed the directorate that the attempt to land a French force in Ireland would be renewed in the following spring, and their hopes were raised once more to a high pitch.

Macnevin was elected to the directorate shortly after his return from Paris, and in February, 1798, a military committee was appointed, with instructions to prepare a plan for the co-operation of the United Irishmen with their French allies, and for an insurrection without foreign aid in the event of the invasion failing, or an outbreak being precipitated by the measures of the Government before the invaders arrived. This contingency the directorate, notwithstanding the large force at their command, were anxious to avoid. It was estimated by Lord Edward Fitzgerald that the armed force of the United Irishmen was nearly two hundred and eighty thousand men, but the funds in hand amounted to less than fifteen hundred pounds. The greatest strength of the association was in Ulster, where it numbered about one hundred and ten thousand members. Munster came next, with about a hundred thousand. In Connaught it had not obtained a footing. Naturally a larger deduction must be made from the numbers

shown on paper from a force of revolutionary origin than from the regular forces of a lawfully constituted State; and Madden states that he had reason to know that Lord Edward Fitzgerald did not calculate upon placing more than a hundred thousand effectives in the field.

The explanation of this large deduction is found in the fact that the Association was at this time in a less vigorous condition than it had been a year before. Disappointment and delay, treachery, and the suspicion of treachery, had sapped its strength. The numbers had increased, for it is rarely that members of a secret society withdraw their names; but the spirit of the men was evaporating, the subscriptions had fallen off, and fewer members attended the meetings, whether of local societies or committees. They were as ready to take the field as they had ever been, but, like raw soldiers, who will charge the enemy with boldness, but cannot be kept steady under a fire which they cannot return, they were shaken by the knowledge that treachery was among them, and that they had yet months to wait for the French.

The full extent of that treachery will never be known. There is a fearful suggestiveness in the guarded statement of Madden that "the betrayers of the Society were not the poor or inferior members of it; some of them were high in the confidence of the Directory; others not sworn in, but trusted with its concerns, learned in the law, social in their habits, liberal in politics, prodigal in their expenses, needy in their circumstances, and therefore covetous of money; loose in their public and private principles, and therefore open to temptation." A copy of the memoir

drawn up for the French Government in 1797 found its way into the possession of Cooke, the Irish secretary, through unknown hands. Macnevin told the secret committee, when under examination on the subject of the negotiations in which he took part, that it could have been obtained only by "some person in the pay of England and in the confidence of France." That person has not been named, unless by implication. Madden seems disposed to impute treachery to some member of the French Government; but, while the moral character of more than one member of the Directory did not rank high, there were others to whom the remark of Macnevin equally applied, and who, being in an inferior position, were more accessible, and likely to have proved corruptible at a cheaper rate.

There was treachery among the partisans of the Government, however, as well as among the United Irishmen. O'Connor told the secret committee that minute information of every act of the Government was obtained by the directorate. Relations were maintained between O'Connor and Cox which are inexplicable, unless by the hypothesis that the latter betrayed such secrets of the Castle as became known to him in the course of his communications with Cooke. There were men, too, in a much higher social position than Cox—members of the upper classes of Irish society, on terms of confidence with Lord Clare and with Lord Castlereagh—who had friends or relatives among the United Irishmen—Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Lord Cloncurry, and Arthur O'Connor, for instances, to whom, in confidence, as a proof of their friendship, or in the unguarded hours of con-

viviality, they imparted their knowledge of the Governmental designs and intentions.

This is not mere inference or surmise. Madden asserts, on the authority of Macnevin, that members of the Privy Council and general officers then serving in Ireland were among those privately known to be favourably disposed towards the United Irishmen. That the costs of the defence of the leaders were borne by officers of distinction there can be no doubt. Bernard Duggan, who was deeply implicated in the conspiracy, told Madden that he should have been hanged if ample means of obtaining legal assistance had not been timeously supplied by officers serving in the district in which he was confined, and to whom he was utterly unknown. There was more than private friendship in this; more, it may reasonably be inferred, than the ordinary promptings of humanity. Some of these military friends of the movement may be traced. Duggan named Colonel Lumm as the officer by whom the money for his defence was sent. This officer and Major Plunkett were among the friends who visited Lord Edward Fitzgerald in his prison.* Teeling, speaking of persons who, from the position in which they stood towards the Government, must have made great sacrifices and incurred considerable risk in communicating with the leaders of the United Irishmen, says that he was conversing one evening with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when Colonel Lumm entered, accompanied by two other gentlemen unknown to him, but whom he believed were members of the Irish Parliament. Lumm embraced Fitzgerald

* Moore's Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

with fraternal warmth of affection, and said, placing a heavy bag of gold before him, "There, my lord, is provision for——." Teeling does not appear to have heard the concluding words of the sentence, but he adds, "A few hours would have placed Lord Edward at the head of the troops of Kildare."* To these statements I need add only that Colonel Lumm was arrested in England in May, 1798, and taken to Dublin in the custody of a King's messenger.

Ireland, towards the close of 1797, resembled a fire which has apparently been extinguished, but the embers of which still glow, and may be fanned into a blaze by the lightest breeze. There was an appearance of quietude which led superficial observers to believe that the people had been coerced into submission. But beneath this seeming calm discontent was still rife, and the elements of revolt were drawing rapidly to a head. The organisation of the United Irishmen was being extended in Munster, and pushing its ramifications into Connaught, where it had previously been unknown. Emissaries from Dublin and Belfast traversed those provinces in every direction, fraternising with the Defenders, who were absorbed into the United Irish system during the autumn and winter by the skilful manipulation of these agents, who adapted their language to their listeners, and, while refraining from descanting on the rights of man, were eloquent on the question of the land and the tithes.

The views and aims of these new adherents naturally presented a wide divergence from those of the chiefs

* Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion.

of the conspiracy. As observed by Harwood, "the ideas of the Emmets, Neilsons, and Macnevins were not their ideas. The United Irish system was, to them, little else than the old system of Defenderism, or Whiteboyism, under a new name, made efficient and respectable by an unlooked-for accession of allies from the middle and higher classes of society. But however defective their theory of republican government, they were perfectly well versed in the practice of rebellion; and this union of the intellectual with the physical force of the country—this alliance of the speculative republicanism of the Presbyterian north with the practical wrongs and wretchedness of the Catholic south—boded for the coming year a convulsion desperate and deadly."

The execution of Orr, which foreshadowed the coming terror, showed the anxiety of the Government concerning this mysterious organisation, and filled the minds of the disaffected with thoughts of revenge. Orr, who was a man of the highest character, and respected by all who knew him, was charged with administering the oath of the United Irishmen to a soldier of the Scotch Fencibles, who was the only witness against him, and was shown to be a man of infamous life and repute. He was convicted, however, and condemned to death. The jury had recommended him to mercy, and the most strenuous efforts were made to procure a commutation of the sentence. Three of the jury made affidavits that whisky was given to them during their deliberations; that some of them were threatened with the vengeance of the Government if they acquitted the prisoner, and others assured that the Government wished only to obtain a

conviction, and that the life of the accused was safe; and that the verdict was given under the influence of drink, intimidation, and the physical exhaustion of a deliberation of thirteen hours. In such circumstances the Government might well hesitate. Orr was three times respited, and was offered his life if he would confess his guilt. He refused, and his execution followed. His last words—"Remember Orr!"—dwelt long in the memory of his countrymen, and were often repeated during the following year as the watch-words of conspiracy and the battle-cry of revolt.

The execution of Orr was followed by the arrest of sixteen United Irishmen on information given by O'Brien, one of the infamous wretches who had lately been taken into the service of the Irish Government, and who achieved an unenviable notoriety as the Battalion of Testimony. This man, who was the chief witness against the accused, had been a common informer against persons who infringed the excise regulations, and who would not purchase his silence by submitting to his extortions; and had also, as he confessed under cross-examination, been concerned in the fabrication of spurious coin. The prisoners were defended by Curran and Macnally, two of the most eminent members of the Irish bar.* During the trial

* Curran was never affiliated to the United Irishmen, though he sympathised deeply with the movemsnt, and was intimate with the leaders. He thought he could serve the cause better by keeping aloof from the Society. Macnally was a member, as was Grattan also. From the subsequent award of a pension to Macnally, and the fact of the initials L. N., supposed to mean Leonard Nally, occurring in the Irish secret service accounts, Madden concludes Macnally to have been an informer against the United Irishmen; but the evidence is weak and insufficient.

the defending counsel received information that perjury on the part of O'Brien could be proved if time was allowed for the journey to Dublin of an important witness. Knowing that no indulgence was to be expected from the Crown, Macnally protracted his cross-examination of the witnesses for the prosecution until the witness arrived, when O'Brien's perjury was proved, and the prisoners were acquitted. O'Brien was hanged two years afterwards for a brutal murder, an immense concourse of people hailing his well-deserved fate with shouts of exultation. Wheatley, the soldier who had informed against Orr, confessed afterwards that he also had committed perjury.

The execution of Orr, the narrow escape of Finney and his companions, the irritation excited by the search for arms, the general presentiment of an impending convulsion, all tended at this time to produce in the eastern and southern counties a condition bordering closely upon anarchy. During the months of February and March many parts of the provinces of Leinster and Munster were overrun by lawless bands, which, by confining their incursions and ravages to the hours of darkness, rendered their operations more difficult to be repressed by the regular troops and yeomanry. Not a night passed without murders and incendiary fires. Several districts had been proclaimed under the extraordinary powers given by Parliament to the Lord-Lieutenant and Council; but these measures proved ineffectual. Very many of the loyal inhabitants of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, King's County, Queen's County, Kildare, and Wicklow were, in the course of one month, stripped of their arms, and in many places

obliged to fly for shelter into the garrison towns; and as one instance among many of the daring lengths to which the conspirators at this time had proceeded, eight hundred insurgents, principally mounted, invested the town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, in open day, held possession of it until they had made a regular search through every house, and carried off in triumph all the arms and ammunition they could find.*

Fear engenders cruelty; and the Government, baffled in their endeavours to suppress the United Irishmen by the firmness of Orr and the failure of the perjury of O'Brien, sanctioned, if they did not initiate, a system of terrorism over the whole island. I will not harrow the feelings of the reader by reproducing the terrible scenes of torture and murder, the floggings, the pitch-cappings, the hangings, and the burnings, which have been related by Madden, and Plowden,† and Harwood, and which Sir Richard Musgrave‡ has attempted to justify, but which no writer has denied. I will merely remark that these horrible outrages tended to precipitate the rebellion, of which Arthur O'Connor deposed before the secret committee they were the cause, and that their effect on the mind of Sir John Moore, who held an important command in Ireland at that time, was such that he once declared to a friend that if he had been an Irishman he should have been a rebel.

There is no doubt that the Government, having succeeded neither in disarming the United Irishmen,

* Report of the Secret Committee. † History of Ireland.
‡ History of the Rebellion.

nor in discovering their leaders, wished at this time to bring the conspiracy to a head, and crush it at once. The leaders of the Society saw no other means of bringing to an end the prevailing system of anarchy and terror; the rank and file were burning for action and for reprisals. Everything tended, therefore, to precipitate an outbreak. The hope of aid from France grew fainter every day. Hoche was now dead, Carnot politically proscribed, Buonaparte in Egypt. Emmet and some others, the more clear-headed of the leaders of the United Irishmen, had always been of the opinion that dependence on France was a fatal mistake; and the journals of the Society show that the French alliance had kept them always waiting and expecting, alternately elated by delusive hopes, and cast down by disappointment.

The executive committee consisted at this time of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Oliver Bond, Arthur O'Connor, Dr. Macnevin, and the elder Emmet. At a meeting of the provincial committee of Leinster, held in February, Fitzgerald proposed an immediate rising, which was objected to by some of the members, on the ground that it would be better to wait for the arrival of the promised expedition from France. Fitzgerald told them that no aid was to be expected from that quarter; and, after some discussion, it was resolved to take immediate measures for a general insurrection.

As a last effort to obtain aid from France, however, O'Connor left Dublin at this time, and proceeded to London, where he remained some time, while Binns, one of four other United Irishmen who accompanied him, visited Whitstable, Deal, and Margate, en-

deavouring to hire a small vessel to convey them to France. During his stay in London, O'Connor was frequently the guest of Fox, and in close and confidential communication with him concerning the state of Ireland, and the organisation of the United Irishmen, with whose views and objects Fox was probably well acquainted. On the 27th, his servant, O'Leary, accompanied a priest named Coigly, and another United Irishman, named Allen, to Margate, where they were joined the same day by O'Connor and Binns, under the assumed names of Morris and Williams. The previous movements of Binns having been tracked by police-officers of the Bow Street establishment, a party of those red-vested janizaries followed them from London, and arrested the whole party next morning at their hotel. In O'Connor's trunks a green military uniform was found, together with nine hundred pounds in gold and some papers, among which was a key to a cipher correspondence with Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

The chief evidence against the prisoners, however, was a paper, purporting to be a memoir prepared by a "secret committee of England" for the French Government, inviting the enemy to invade England, which was found in a pocket-book, in the pocket of an overcoat belonging to Coigly. This document formed the groundwork of the prosecution when the prisoners were brought to trial at Maidstone on the 21st of May, but there was no evidence to connect the United Irishmen with its purpose, and, with the exception of Coigly, they were acquitted. On this occasion, Fox, Erskine, and Sheridan, who had known O'Connor three years, and Grattan, who had been

intimately acquainted with him for six years, testified to his being "a man of the strictest honour and integrity," "highly enlightened, and firmly attached to the principles which had seated the reigning family on the throne."

On the conclusion of the trial, at ten o'clock at night, a scene ensued which has been variously described by the different writers whose narrations of the events of the period have been published. Madden says that the verdict was no sooner delivered than an attempt was made by Bow Street officers to arrest O'Connor on another charge before he could leave the dock; and that, on O'Connor breaking from them, and rushing into the body of the Court, a body of Bow Street officers appeared, and a scene of great confusion ensued, swords being drawn, and several persons knocked down, before O'Connor was overpowered, and dragged back to the dock.

Feargus O'Connor related the incident very differently. "The trial," as he told the story, "lasted all day, and a considerable portion of the night. The Government felt satisfied that his death would be insured; but, lest they should be disappointed, there was another indictment prepared against him in case he should be acquitted. He was acquitted, and when the verdict was pronounced, Lord Thanet and Cutlar Ferguson, subsequently a member of Parliament, and one of the Ministers, stood on each side of the dock; they blew out the candles, and my uncle being a very active man, he put one hand upon the shoulder of Lord Thanet, and the other upon Cutlar Ferguson's, when he jumped out of the dock, and made his escape. However, as he was running down a street, he was

tripped up by a constable, and again taken into custody. Of course he was perfectly aware that the Government would use its every influence to secure his death, and therefore he entered into a condition to be transported for life.* Lord Thanet was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, and Cutlar Ferguson to six, for assisting him to make his escape."

The version given by the brother of Binns makes Coigly the central figure of this strange scene. He says: "Sentence of death was passed on Coigly at night. The Court-house was lit with lamps. Coigly was near escaping; the terror in the Court was extreme; the cry of 'put out the lights' was heard; there were swords drawn in Court, and, in the scuffle, O'Connor received some blows; Lord Thanet was arrested for rioting in court. The fact is, preparations were made for effecting the prisoner's escape, and fast horses were engaged, and in readiness on the road, to facilitate Coigly's flight."

There are similar discrepancies as to the criminatory document found in the pocket-book supposed to be Coigly's. The priest asserted that he knew nothing about it, and even upon the scaffold repeated the assertion in the most solemn manner. This statement has been contradicted, however, both by O'Connor and the brother of Binns, in their communications to Madden; and the account of the paper given by Binns agrees with the statement made after Coigly's execution, by the counsel who defended O'Leary—namely, that Coigly received the memoir from Dr. Crossfield, a member of the London Corre-

* Feargus O'Connor was not well informed on this point.

sponding Society, with instructions to procure its insertion in the *Moniteur*, for the purpose of alarming and distracting the British Government, and that Coigly went to the scaffold rather than betray Crossfield.

One of the members of the Leinster provincial committee at this time was Thomas Reynolds, who had been a silk manufacturer in Dublin, but had retired from business, and purchased the castle and estate of Kilkea. He had been initiated into the Society by Bond early in 1797, and advanced quickly to the grade of captain, or lower baronial delegate. In November he succeeded Lord Edward Fitzgerald, at the latter's request, as colonel of the barony of Kilkea, Fitzgerald having reason at that time to believe that he was suspected by the Government. He seems seldom to have attended the meetings of the baronial committee, however, and, if his own account is to be believed, had no knowledge of the conspiracy until February, 1798, when he attended a county committee, held at the Nineteen Mile House, on the road to Dublin, and was elected delegate to the provincial committee. Alarmed by what he then heard, he failed to attend the meeting of the Leinster committee on the following day, and proceeded to Dublin to remonstrate with the leading conspirators.

Warned by Neilson that they would "have no half-measure men," and laughed at for his fears by others, he resolved to withdraw from the Society, and take measures which he hoped would "so neutralise the plans of the United Irishmen as to stop them, without compromising their personal safety, and at once save his country, his friends, and his own

honour."* While considering the means of realising this intention—so often indulged in similar circumstances, but never accomplished—he encountered an old friend, a merchant named Cope, who, in the course of a conversation on the state of the country, persuaded him that wealth and honours would be liberally bestowed by the Government upon any one who would betray the secret organisation which they had vainly expended so much money, and taken so much pains, to unearth. Reynolds said that he knew a person who was disposed to do so, but protested that he was actuated by higher motives than the hope of reward; and at length took Cope into his confidence, revealed the plan of the conspiracy, and informed him that the final meeting would be held at Bond's house on the 12th of March.

Bond was the only one of the conspirators whom Reynolds had named; but, knowing that few, if any, of the leaders would escape if they attended the meeting, and wishing to save Lord Edward Fitzgerald, he visited him on the day before that fixed for the meeting, and showed him a paper containing secret orders for the Yeomanry Corps, of a tenour indicating that the authorities were on the alert to meet and suppress some impending commotion. The manner in which this paper came into the informer's possession is one of the many singular circumstances connected with this conspiracy, which seems explicable only by the supposition of the double treachery of which there were several instances. Reynolds supposed its production to have had the desired effect.

* Life of Thomas Reynolds, by his Son.

Fitzgerald became agitated, and Reynolds inferred from his absence from the meeting on the following day that he took the alarm, and resolved not to attend. The inference is unwarranted, either by reason or facts. If Fitzgerald had resolved not to attend the meeting, he would have communicated with his colleagues, which he did not do; and the real cause of his absence was that, having reached the corner of the street in which Bond's house was situated, he saw Major Sirr and his party enter, and immediately retraced his steps.

On the following day Bond's house was surrounded by soldiers, and himself and thirteen others, forming the provincial committee of Leinster, were arrested, and their journals and correspondence seized. Emmet and Macnevin were arrested at their homes about the same time. The prisoners were taken to the Castle for a preliminary examination, after which they were all committed to Newgate gaol on the charge of treason.

These arrests did not damp the ardour or weaken the resolves of the United Irishmen. The Leinster provincial committee was reconstituted before night, and probably the executive also, though only John Sheares is known to have immediately taken the place of one of the arrested directors of the movement. The new chief was a barrister of good repute, loved and respected by all who knew him, and, with his brother, had been in the society almost from its commencement. A letter was received shortly afterwards from Teeling, who was then in Paris, informing the Leinster provincial committee that a new expedition would be despatched from France in April;

but it was resolved that the rising should take place this time, whether the French came or not, and arming and drilling, and the formation of depôts of military stores, went on actively.

Early in May the plan of the insurrection was fully arranged, and the day fixed for its execution. The United Irishmen of the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare were to advance simultaneously upon the capital under the direction of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, surprise the camp at Loughlinstown and the artillery depôt at Chapelizod, and seize Lord Camden, Lord Clare, Lord Castlereagh, and other members of the Irish Government, who were to be held as hostages. The detention of the mails was to be the signal for the rising of the United Irishmen all over the island.

Lord Camden had, in the meantime, issued a proclamation announcing that a conspiracy against the Crown and Government had been discovered; that acts of violence and rebellion had been committed in divers parts of the country; and that all the forces at his disposal would be employed with the utmost rigour and decision to suppress the rebellion, and disarm all disaffected persons by the most summary and effectual measures. All the spies and informers attached to the Castle were at the same time employed in endeavouring to discover the hiding-place of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for whose arrest a reward of one thousand pounds was offered, and to ascertain who had succeeded the men in custody in the direction of the conspiracy. Lord Castlereagh had found it necessary to obtain the services for such purposes of men in a higher social position than O'Brien, and secret

service money found its way into the pockets of such men as Sir George Hill and Captain Armstrong. The accounts of Cooke, secretary to Lord Clare, record several payments of secret service money to the former between the autumn of 1797 and the close of 1799; and the latter earned indelible infamy as the betrayer of the brothers Sheares, whose friend he had pretended to be, and whose hospitality he had shared.

One of the principal booksellers in Dublin at that time was Byrne, who had joined the United Irishmen, and whose shop was a favourite lounge of liberal-minded men of all professions. Among those who resorted to it for the literary and political gossip of the day was Captain Armstrong, whose conversations with Byrne led the latter to regard him as what the present generation calls "an advanced Liberal." The political views which he expressed were so far advanced that Byrne, on the 10th of May, did not hesitate to introduce him to John Sheares as "a true brother," and to usher them into a private room behind the shop, in order that they might converse at their ease. Armstrong at once declared himself in favour of the national movement, and offered his aid; and Sheares, naturally open-hearted, and thrown off his guard by Byrne's sponsorship of Armstrong, and the latter's well-assumed enthusiasm, informed him that the rising was at hand, and that he might assist it by seducing the soldiers in the camp at Lehaunstown. An appointment was made for the 18th at the house of Henry Sheares, in Bagot Street, where the conversation was renewed, John Sheares becoming more and more confidential. On returning

to the camp at Lehaunstown, Armstrong communicated to Colonel Lestrange, the commandant, all that he had heard, and also made a communication on the subject to Lord Castlereagh. During the following week he was a frequent visitor at the house of Henry Sheares, and on the 20th he gleaned from the brothers all the details of the conspiracy, which he immediately communicated to the Castle.

The crisis was now at hand, the 23rd having been fixed for the rising. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was arrested on the day preceding the final interview of Armstrong with the unsuspecting brothers Sheares. He had frequently changed his lodging since the arrests of the 12th of March, and his various places of hiding were known only to the leaders of the United Irishmen. During this period of anxiety and excitement he had some narrow escapes. On one occasion, about the middle of May, when he and Neilson had ridden from Dublin to the borders of Kildare, they were stopped at Palmerstown by the patrol, and questioned as to their business. Neilson pretended intoxication to avoid answering, and Fitzgerald, who described himself as a surgeon, gave an account of the purpose of his journey which was accepted as satisfactory. In his walks about Dublin on the business of the conspiracy he was always attended by half a dozen friends of tried courage, who walked in advance of him, followed in the rear, and watched from the opposite side of the street. Colonel Lumm and Major Plunkett were among the friends who formed this escort.

He was tracked, however, to a house in Thomas Street, and arrested there by a party of soldiers, led

by Major Sirr, Major Swan, and a yeomanry captain named Ryan. The circumstances of the arrest have been variously related. Murphy, the occupier of the house, who was arrested at the same time, says that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was lying on the bed, partly undressed, when Major Swan entered the room, and that he immediately sprang from the bed, drew a dagger, and struck Swan, inflicting a slight wound. Swan then discharged a pistol, but missed his aim, and thereupon retreated. The Duke of Portland, in a private letter, quoted by Madden, says that "Lord Edward, who was armed with a case of pistols and a dagger, stood on his defence, shot Mr. Ryan in the stomach, and wounded Mr. Swan with the dagger in two places. Major Sirr, on entering the room, and observing Lord Edward with the dagger uplifted in his hands, fired at him, and wounded him in the arm of the hand that held the weapon, upon which he was secured." The Duke of Portland must have been misled by unfounded statements received from others. Fitzgerald had no pistols: the dagger, which had a horn hilt and a zigzag blade, was one of several that were made for the leaders of the United Irishmen, by a cutler in Bridge Street, named Byrne. But the concluding portion of this statement agrees with the accounts given by Sirr himself, in a letter to Ryan's son, which appeared in the London journals in 1839, and by the younger Ryan, who, in an account published at the same time, states that "Major Swan first entered Lord Edward's apartment, and, on finding his lordship, cried out, 'You are my prisoner;' upon which the latter aimed a blow with his dagger at Swan, who parried it with his hand. The

blade, after passing the fingers, glanced along the side, inflicting a superficial wound, of which he recovered in about a fortnight. Swan, thus wounded, exclaimed, 'Ryan, Ryan, I am basely murdered!' Captain Ryan, who had been searching another part of the house, on hearing this exclamation, immediately ran in, and, seizing Lord Edward, threw him back on the bed, where a violent struggle ensued, in which Captain Ryan received an awful wound in the stomach. He instantly started up, and attempted to use a sword-cane. A most unequal contest followed, and lasted for about ten minutes, in the course of which Captain Ryan, unarmed, resolutely maintained his grasp of his prisoner, who, with desperate ferocity, inflicted wound after wound, to the number of fourteen. Captain Ryan's hands being disabled, he clung round Lord Edward with his legs, and, though dragged through the room towards the door, effectually prevented Lord Edward's escape to the staircase. All this time Lord Edward was unhurt, his opponent defenceless; nevertheless, he recklessly wounded and brandished his awfully-constructed double-edged dagger, worn for the express purpose of carrying death to any assailant. This horrifying scene lasted until the arrival of the soldiers, and was terminated by Major Sirr discharging a pistol at Lord Edward: the ball entered his shoulder; but even then, so outrageous was he, that the military had to cross their muskets, and force him down to the floor, before he could be secured."

According to the surgical evidence given on the inquest on Fitzgerald, two shots must have been fired, unless Sirr had put two bullets into his pistol; for

two were extracted from his shoulder, the inflammation and fever resulting from the wound thus inflicted resulting in his death a few days after his arrest. None of his relatives and friends were allowed to see him until a few hours before. Lord Clare, in refusing permission to Lord Henry Fitzgerald, one of the dying prisoner's brothers, said—"If I could explain to you the grounds for this restriction, even you would hardly be induced to condemn it as unnecessarily harsh." The mystery that lurked under these words has never been cleared up. Even Leeson, the solicitor who made the prisoner's will, was not allowed to enter the prison, but communicated with his client through the surgeon-general of prisons. Just before his death, however, he was seen by Lord Henry Fitzgerald and an aunt, Lady Louisa Connolly. His remains were interred in the vaults of St. Werburgh's Church, the only persons allowed to attend being Lieutenant Stone, of the Derry militia, who had attended him while in prison, by order of the authorities, and an old servant of the Fitzgerald family, named Shiel.

The betrayer of Lord Edward Fitzgerald is unknown. Neilson, Reynolds, and Murphy have been indicated as the probable sources of the information acted upon by Major Sirr. Neilson had dined with his fellow-conspirator, and left him somewhat abruptly. Sirr said he received the information immediately before proceeding to Murphy's house, and that he found the door open. It has been surmised that the door was intentionally left open by Neilson; but there are really no reasonable grounds for suspecting either Neilson or Murphy, and this disposition of Irishmen

to suspect each other of treachery upon the very slightest grounds is one of the least pleasant features of the national character which the history of the United Irishmen develops. That the information was given by Reynolds is doubted even by Madden. "Reynolds," he says, "had a kind of regard and respect for Lord Edward; for we find even the greatest villains frequently manifest an involuntary appreciation of very exalted heroism or virtue. They feel as if they were compelled, in spite of themselves, to reverence great and generous qualities like those which Lord Edward possessed. But though Reynolds, probably, would not denounce him himself, nor think it decent to sell a man's blood from whom *it was known* he had received great and substantial acts of kindness, Reynolds could have reconciled it to his very peculiarly constituted mind and perverted moral sense to put an acquaintance in whose welfare he felt an interest in the way of doing a stroke of business in his own line, and to enable his *protégé* to pocket a thousand pounds for a little bit of information concerning Lord Edward's hiding-place on a particular occasion."

The secret service accounts of the Castle contain an entry which shows that the informer was neither Neilson, Reynolds, nor Murphy. Under date June 20th, 1798, is the entry—"F.H. Discovery of L.E.F., 1000*l*." Madden supposes these initials to mean John Hughes and Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and there is no doubt that the latter portion of the interpretation is correct. Hughes was a bookseller at Belfast, who gave evidence before the secret committee, but suppressed the fact that he had been arrested for treason at Newry, in October, 1797, and was liberated

on bail the same evening. He became bankrupt shortly afterwards, and early in June, 1798, was arrested again. Of course, those who believe that, in the secret service accounts, N. means Macnally, may believe that F. stands therein for John; but, if the F. is a mistake for J., the informer may have been Joel Hulbert, a carver and gilder, and afterwards a toll-collector on the Monastereven Canal, who, in August, 1803, informed Major Sirr of an intended meeting of disaffected persons at a house at Kilmainham.

Byrne and the brothers Sheares were arrested on the 21st, on the information of the man who had enjoyed the hospitality of Henry Sheares on the preceding evening, and for whose entertainment the daughter of his unsuspecting host had played the harp. The only paper of any consequence that was seized was an unfinished proclamation to the people of Ireland, very violent in its tone, which was found on the writing-desk of John Sheares, and appeared to have been written by him.

For several days before the outbreak of the rebellion there was an unusual movement among all classes of the inhabitants of Dublin. Every day clerks were missed from their desks, shop-assistants from their counters, workmen from their places of labour. The air grew thick with rumours of conspiracy and rebellion. An uneasy feeling, a presentiment of impending danger, pervaded all classes. On the 23rd Neilson was arrested in front of Newgate, while reconnoitring that prison, with a view to an attack for the purpose of liberating the United Irishmen confined there, among whom was Lord Edward Fitzgerald. A large body of conspirators was in

readiness for the attack at a place called the Barley Fields; but on receiving information of Neilson's arrest they dispersed.

During the evening and the early hours of the night the prevailing uneasiness of the inhabitants of Dublin culminated in the wildest excitement, as persons whose business had called them into the country brought into the city the news that all the roads were intercepted by armed rebels, large bodies of whom were said to be gathering at Santry on the north, and Rathfarnham on the south. Drums beat to arms, trumpets and bugles sounded, troops were in motion, the whole population in a state of ill-suppressed excitement. It was a dark night, and the lamps remained unlighted, the men whose duty it was to light them having disappeared, with thousands of others, to join the rebel gatherings at Santry and Rathfarnham.

The military arrangements for the defence of the city were so ill-contrived that an attack in force, under able leaders, could scarcely have failed to be successful. The greater part of the troops and yeomanry were massed in Smithfield, a long and wide street, ending on the quays of the Liffey, and intersected by numerous narrow lanes. Sir Jonah Barrington, who was an eye-witness of the scene, and observes that the rebels lost a fine opportunity to cover the field with distinguished corpses, says that the troops "were in some places so completely interwoven that a dragoon could not wield his sword without cutting down a foot soldier; nor a foot soldier discharge his musket without knocking down a trooper. Five hundred rebels, with long pikes, coming on rapidly in the dark, might without difficulty have assailed

the yeomen at once from five different points. . . . . All the barristers, attorneys, merchants, bankers, revenue officers, shopkeepers, students of the university, doctors, apothecaries, and corporators of an immense metropolis, in red coats, with a sprinkling of parsons, all doubled up together amid bullock-stalls and sheep-pens, awaiting in profound darkness (not with impatience) for invisible executioners to despatch them without mercy, was not, abstractedly, a situation to engender much hilarity. Scouts now and then came, only to report their ignorance. A running buzz went round that the vedettes were driven in ; and the reports of distant musketry, like a twitch of electricity, gave a slight but perceptible movement to men's muscles. A few faintly-heard shots on the north side also seemed to announce that the vanguard of the Santry men were approaching."*

The night passed without an attack, however, and at daybreak it became known that the plan of the United Irishmen had failed. The mail-coaches had been stopped, some houses burned, and some small military posts attacked or threatened ; but the rebels had not been able to gather in force either at Santry or Rathfarnham. Lord Camden took the precaution, however, of palisading and guarding the bridges, and issued another proclamation, commanding all who had unregistered arms in their possession to surrender them immediately, under the penalty of being sent on board the King's ships, and not to leave their houses between the hours of nine in the evening and five in the morning.

* Historical Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion.

The movements of the United Irishmen during the hours of darkness bore traces of the original plan, though they had not accomplished its execution. Within a circle of thirty miles around the capital they had gathered in small bodies, armed chiefly with pikes, and attempted to surprise the military stations and advance upon Dublin. About an hour after midnight a small body surprised the little barrack at Prosperous, seventeen miles from Dublin, slaughtered its few defenders, and burned the building. A few hours later, a larger force was attacked at Kilcullen by a regiment of dragoons, commanded by General Dundas, and stood so firmly that the assailants were three times repulsed, and at length forced to retreat. A still larger body, numbering about a thousand men, entered Naas without opposition; but being afterwards surprised by Lord Gosford at the head of the Armagh militia and a troop of yeomanry, were driven out of the town with great slaughter, and pursued by the yeomanry until they dispersed over the country. Many prisoners were taken by the victors, and were immediately hanged.

On the following day, about two hours after midnight, a body of twelve hundred United Irishmen entered Carlow, thinking they had surprised the garrison, but were received with such a destructive fire of musketry that they recoiled, and attempted to retreat. Colonel Mahon, who commanded there, had been warned of the attack by an intercepted letter, and had posted a portion of his force so as to cut off the retreat of the rebels, who, finding themselves between two fires, sought refuge in the houses. The town was thereupon fired by the troops, and eighty

houses were burned, about a hundred persons perishing in the flames and suffocating smoke. Two hundred more were made prisoners, all of whom were hanged or shot upon the spot.

Sir Edward Crosbie, in whose grounds the rebels had mustered, was arrested after the massacre, on the charge of having favoured their design, and tried by court-martial. Though he was a member of the United Irishmen, he had taken no part in the rebellion; but little evidence was required to convince his judges that he ought to be shot, and, while some prisoners were tortured into giving evidence against him, those whose testimony would have been in his favour were forcibly excluded from the Court.* He was condemned to death, and the sentence was immediately executed. His fate excited much sympathy among all classes of the people.

Small detachments of Fencibles at Dunboyne and Barretstown were routed by the rebels about the same time, but in most cases the desultory attacks on small towns were repulsed. Their numbers increased rapidly, however, and on the 26th a strong position on Tara Hill, in the county of Meath, was occupied by a body of four thousand, who, on a regiment advancing against them, rushed down with such impetuosity that the troops gave way before them and fled. The charge of the rebel pikemen was quickly changed into a disorderly retreat when they encountered the fire of artillery; and the infantry then rallied, charged up the hill, and drove them from their position. This defeat broke the rebel com-

* Gordon's History of the Irish Rebellion.

munication between Dublin and the north, and the Meath insurgents withdrew into Kildare.

As yet the rebellion had not extended beyond the four counties nearest to the capital, but, on the evening of the fight at Tara Hill, the flame was spread to Wexford by the cruel and sacrilegious violence of a troop of yeomanry, who rode into the village of Boolavoyne, near Enniscorthy, and burned the Catholic church, the priest's house, and several farmhouses. The villagers fled in terror to Oulard Hill, an eminence ten miles from Wexford, and were joined during the night by most of the peasants of the neighbouring county. This movement being regarded as an act of rebellion, Colonel Lehunte, with the yeomanry and a company of Cork militia, marched to Oulard Hill on the following morning, posting his cavalry in the rear of the position to prevent the flight of the peasants, most of whom were armed with pikes, while his infantry advanced up the ascent. The rebels were disposed for flight, but, finding their retreat cut off, attacked the militia with such vigour that they were driven down the hill in disorder, and with fearful slaughter. The yeomanry thereupon fled also, and did not stop until they reached Wexford.

The rebels, elated with their unexpected victory, marched northward, receiving constant augmentations of their force, and encamped on Carrigrew Hill. On the following morning, continuing their march, they entered Camolin, where they seized eight hundred muskets, the possession of which inspired them with the idea of attacking Enniscorthy. They turned southward, therefore, swelled to a force of seven

thousand men, flushed with success, and burning for revenge. The defenders of the town made a vigorous defence, but they were overpowered by numbers, and, after a hot fight of four hours, they were driven out, and retired to Wexford. The victorious rebels encamped on Vinegar Hill, an eminence overlooking the town; but they were now satisfied with their exploits, and, being destitute of leaders worthy of distinction, allowed the troops to reoccupy Enniscorthy, and began to disperse. The authorities had, in the meantime, become alarmed, and, after arresting three gentlemen of the neighbourhood on suspicion of being concerned in the rebellion, liberated them on bail, and sent two of them to Vinegar Hill to parley with the rebel leaders. The result of this policy was, that the rebels flocked back to their camp, and Bagenal Harvey, one of the negotiators from Wexford, assumed the command of them.

A sally made from Enniscorthy by the troops was repulsed, the colonel of the militia being among the slain, and the military again retreated to Wexford. Reinforcements advancing from Duncannon were surprised and routed with great slaughter, near a spur of the Forth mountains, called the Three Rocks, where the rebels captured two guns and made prisoners of an officer and sixteen privates. The remnant fled to Wexford, increasing the alarm created by the defeat at Enniscorthy; and the town was immediately evacuated, the retreating troops shooting the peasantry, and plundering and burning the farmhouses and cottages along their line of march. Wexford was immediately occupied by the rebels, who

made the town their head-quarters, at the same time maintaining their camp on Vinegar Hill.

On the 31st, two bodies of rebels marched from Vinegar Hill, one going northward, and the other taking the road to New Ross. The former occupied Gorey on the 4th of June, after driving out the troops by whom the town was defended; and, on the evening of the same day, the western division, commanded by Harvey, encamped on Corbet Hill, within a mile of New Ross, which was held by General Johnson, with twelve hundred infantry and a troop of yeomanry. At daybreak on the 5th, Harvey sent a flag of truce, with a summons to surrender the town, the possession of which would open to the rebels the counties of Waterford, Carlow, and Kilkenny. The plan was defeated, however, by the indiscipline of the rebels, who, infuriated by the shooting of the bearer of the white flag, charged wildly down the hill, and into the town, driving the defenders before them at point of pike, and chasing them over the bridge into the county of Kilkenny; but, on the troops rallying, were surprised while plundering and drinking, and driven out in confusion towards Corbet Hill. About three thousand of them were rallied by a brave lad named Lett, who had run from home to join the green flag, under which he led them towards the town under a heavy fire of artillery, which made fearful havoc in their close ranks. Uttering wild cries, the rebels charged into the town, captured the guns, and again drove the defenders over the bridge. This second victory was succeeded, like the former one, by plundering and drinking; and with the same consequence. The troops were again

rallied, and charged into the town, which was now in flames in several places, and, after a desperate conflict, drove the rebels out once more.

Harvey withdrew his defeated followers to a hill five miles distant, where they bivouacked among the furze, and saw the greater part of New Ross reduced to a heap of blackened ruins. Defeat produced dissensions amoug them, and Harvey, being unjustly blamed for the failure of the enterprise, resigned the command, and withdrew from the camp. Fearing to return home, he prowled for some time about the hills and woods, and was at length discovered by some soldiers in a cave, and executed. He was succeeded in the command by a Catholic priest named Roche, who resolved to march into Wicklow, form a junction with the bands of United Irishmen who had collected in the hilly districts of that county, and advance in force upon Dublin. On the 9th the rebels, numbering thirty thousand, were before Arklow, the garrison of which, consisting of a thousand militia and a troop of yeomanry, with four guns, had been hastily reinforced by regular troops, commanded by General Needham. The rebel attack was made with more military skill than could have been expected, about fifteen hundred skirmishers advancing under cover, and keeping up a well-sustained fire from behind low hedges, while the pikemen kept out of sight in the rear. Their ammunition soon becoming exhausted, a charge was made, the outposts driven in, the yeomanry forced into the river Avoca, and a gun dismounted. The pikemen then made a gallant charge, led by a priest named Murphy, and the troops began to waver. At that moment Murphy

was killed by a cannon-shot, and the rebels abandoned the attack, and retired in good order to Gorey.

The rebellion was, in the meantime, dying out in the counties in which it had commenced. On the same day that the Wexford insurgents marched to the attack of Gorey and New Ross, two thousand rebels laid down their arms at Knockarvlin, on the border of the Curragh, on the conditions of a full pardon and unmolested return to their homes. Three days later, several hundreds more proceeded for the same purpose, and on similar terms, under agreement with General Dundas, to the Gibbet Rath, on the Curragh, where a body of regulars and yeomanry was drawn up, under the command of Sir James Duff. According to one version of this affair, one of the rebels, before surrendering his musket, fired it into the air, whereupon Duff ordered the troops to fire, and a volley being discharged into their crowded ranks, the insurgents fled precipitately over the plains. According to another version, the troops consisted entirely of cavalry, and Duff, after the arms had been surrendered, ordered the rebels to kneel down, and ask the King's pardon, and then, while they were on their knees, cried out, "Charge, and spare none!" Whether this version or the other is the correct one is a question of little consequence. The fact remains that the cavalry, the dragoons led by General Hunt, and the yeomanry by Lord Roden and Captain Bagot, pursued the rebels, cutting them down without mercy. The number slain has been variously estimated at from two hundred to three hundred and fifty. General Dundas expressed the utmost abhor-

rence of this treacherous and inhuman massacre, but the Irish Parliament voted thanks to Sir James Duff almost unanimously, and Dundas was vehemently censured during the debate for treating with armed rebels.

There were no more offers to surrender after this atrocity. The scattered bands of rebels fled into the woods and hills, and for some weeks maintained a guerilla warfare in Kildare, under a leader named Aylmer, who proved himself a skilful general, and in Wicklow under a young farmer named Holt.

The failure of the insurrection around Dublin disconcerted the arrangements and damped the ardour of the United Irishmen of Ulster, who, though more numerous than those of Leinster, never took the field in numbers one-fourth of those of the county of Wexford alone. It was not until after the rising in the south that the northern leaders resolved to move, and then, three days before the day fixed for the outbreak, Dr. Dickson, a Presbyterian minister, who had succeeded Russell in 1796 as adjutant-general of Down, was arrested, with two of his staff. The county committee of Down thereupon urged the advisability of deferring action; and, when the county committee of Antrim resolved to raise the United Irishmen of that county on the 7th of June, the adjutant-general, at the last moment, resigned his post. Macracken accepted the vacant appointment, however, and was nominated to the command of the Ulster forces by the executive committee.

On the morning of the 17th, a new discouragement presented itself in the insubordination of the officers, many of whom deserted their posts, and Macracken

commenced the rebellion in the north with only a hundred men. With this slender force he marched upon Antrim, receiving augmentations on the way, until it was raised to five hundred men, many of whom had served in the Volunteers, and two small brass field-guns. The small garrison of Antrim made a vigorous defence, but, after a sanguinary conflict, the troops and yeomanry were driven out, Lord O'Neill being among the slain. Five hundred United Irishmen, who had marched from Kells and Connor, were approaching Antrim from the north when they perceived the yeomanry, and, mistaking their flight for a charge, were seized with a panic, and precipitately retreated. The troops then rallied, and charged into the town, when Macracken's force also became panic-stricken and fled in disorder, pursued by the yeomanry. Macracken was made prisoner, with many more, and immediately tried by court-martial and executed.

The Down insurgents took the field on the 9th, assembling near Saintfield, where they were attacked by the York Fencibles, commanded by Colonel Stapleton. A sanguinary conflict ensued, with heavy loss on both sides, resulting in the occupation of Saintfield by the United Irishmen, and the retreat of the troops to Comber. On the following day the rising became general in the counties of Antrim and Down, and the rebels occupied Newtownardes, and made an unsuccessful attack on Portaferry. On the 11th they entered Ballynahinch, the garrison flying on their approach; but, on the following day, a rebel force of about six thousand, commanded by a leader named Monroe, was attacked by General Nugent, and forced

to retreat. The evacuation of Ballynahinch was the consequence of this defeat, and the town was reoccupied by the troops.

At daybreak on the 12th the rebels advanced, under cover of the fire of their field-guns, and encountered the troops, whom they drove into the town. They then charged, and entered the town under a heavy fire; but, on the retreat being sounded by order of General Nugent, they mistook the notes for a charge, and retreated. The troops then rallied and pursued them, with great slaughter, Monroe in vain endeavouring to stay their flight. The victorious troops plundered the town, and set fire to the houses, many of which were burned; and when, two days afterwards, Monroe was captured, tried by court-martial, and executed before his own house, his head was cut off, and displayed, on a pike, on the roof of the market-house, in sight of his distressed family.*

The rebellion in Ulster ended with this defeat, and on the 20th Lord Cornwallis, who had just before succeeded Lord Camden in the vice-royalty, issued a proclamation assuring protection to all who, being guilty of rebellion only, should, within fourteen days, lay down their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance.

The insurrection was now reduced to a guerilla warfare in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare; and in the two latter the rebels concealed themselves by day in the woods, and among the wild fastnesses of the hills, whence they issued by night to harry the loyal inhabitants. In the more southern

* Teeling.

county they held the towns of Wexford and Enniscorthy, and maintained their position on Vinegar Hill. On the 20th a body of rebels, among whom were a priest and many women, crossed the long wooden bridge at Wexford, and demanded the execution of the prisoners detained there, by way of reprisal for the almost daily shooting and hanging of captured rebels by the regular troops and the yeomanry. Nearly a hundred captives are said to have been piked, and thrown from the bridge into the Slaney; but the massacre was stayed by the arrival of a mounted messenger, who announced that the camp at Vinegar Hill was beset by the enemy.

General Lake had moved all the force at his disposal to the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, with the intention of making a combined attack on the town and the camp. At daybreak on the 21st, General Johnson attacked the former position, which was obstinately defended by a leader named Fitzgerald; while General Lake, with the main body of troops in four columns, attempted to storm the camp. During two hours the rebels stood firm under a furious cannonade, and their pikemen made several gallant charges, by which the assailants were driven down the hill; but the latter gradually gained ground, and at length reached the summit, when the rebels broke and fled. Edward Roche, brother of the priest-general, came up with reinforcements from Wexford, only in time to cover the retreat by interposing his force between the flying rebels and the pursuing cavalry. General Johnson entered Enniscorthy at the same time, making a fearful slaughter of the rebels, the Hessian mercenaries even shooting the

sick and wounded in their beds in the hospital, which was set on fire by the burning wads igniting the bed-clothes. Those who had escaped the shots of the Hessians expired by suffocation.*

Wexford had been invested at the same time, and escape by sea cut off by a blockading force of gun-boats. The successful defence of the place being hopeless, Lord Kingsborough, who had been captured by the rebels while crossing the harbour in a sailing-boat, was released from prison, and an offer made to surrender the town to him, on condition of protection to life and property. Lord Kingsborough accepted the surrender on those terms, but General Lake refused to ratify the capitulation, and the inhabitants were dreading a massacre and the burning of the town, when Sir John Moore marched in from Taghmon with a large force, and relieved them from their fears.

The rebels who had been driven from Vinegar Hill bivouacked at Three Rocks, and on the following day divided into two bodies, one of which marched northward into Wicklow, and the other westward into Carlow, and thence into Kilkenny. On the 24th the western division captured and burned Castlecomer, and then turned back, and encamped on Kilcomney Hill. On the 26th their camp was surrounded, during a thick fog, by a strong body of troops; but, some of them being better acquainted than their pursuers with the country, they escaped through Scollogh Gap, and re-entered Wexford. They then dispersed, a few joining the band of Holt in Wicklow. The northern division, led by Fitzgerald and Edward

* Gordon.

Roche, roamed about the hills for a few weeks longer, when most of them joined Aylmer in Kildare.

The skill which Aylmer and Holt displayed in eluding the troops, the difficulty which the latter experienced in tracking their bands through the lonely passes of the mountains, and the harassing nature of a service which threatened to be interminable, at length induced the Government to pardon them and their followers, and allow the latter to return unmolested to their homes, on the condition of their laying down their arms, and the chiefs leaving the country. This arrangement was negotiated on the 12th of July, by which time the rebellion was completely suppressed, and the trials of the leaders of the United Irishmen were commencing. Aylmer entered the military service of Austria, in which his soldierly qualities procured him rapid promotion. Many years afterwards, on an application being made to the Austrian Government for the assistance of an able officer in the reorganisation of the British cavalry, Aylmer was recommended for the service; but, on his antecedents being made known to the War Office, the offer was declined. He afterwards served under Bolivar in the War of Independence in South America, and died in the service of Colombia.

The first of the conspirators who were brought to trial in Dublin were the brothers Sheares, against whom the chief witness was Captain Armstrong, the only other evidence of any importance being the proclamation found on John's writing-desk. It was past midnight, however, before the examination of the witnesses was concluded, and Curran, who defended the prisoners with his usual ability, applied for an

adjournment, on the ground of physical inability to do justice to his clients after standing thirteen hours in a crowded court, on a hot day in July. The judge consulted the attorney-general, Toler, afterwards Lord Norbury, who, with characteristic brutality, refused his assent. Between seven and eight o'clock on the following morning, when they had been nearly twenty-three hours in their box, the worn-out jury retired to consider their verdict, and in seventeen minutes pronounced a conviction. John Sheares made an earnest appeal on behalf of his brother, pleading that, at least, the execution of the sentence might be deferred for a few days, and that he might in the meantime be permitted to see his wife and children; but the inhuman Toler interposed with a demand that "execution be done upon the prisoners to-morrow." Both the condemned men were accordingly executed on the following day, without any member of the family being allowed to see them. Their remains were interred in the family vault in St. Michael's Church, Dublin.

Macann, the secretary of the Leinster provincial committee, was tried four days afterwards, convicted on the evidence of the informer Reynolds, and executed on the 19th; though, according to Reynolds, the information upon which all the arrests of the 12th of March were made was given on the condition of the lives of the accused being spared. Byrne and two of the Leinster delegates were tried on the day after Macann's execution, and Bond on the 23rd. Curran, who defended them all with unswerving courage, was frequently interrupted while addressing the jury by the soldiers who guarded the court clanging

their muskets on the floor, and not a day passed without his receiving anonymous letters, threatening him with death if he said anything to the discredit of the Government. All the prisoners were convicted, chiefly on the evidence of Reynolds, and sentenced to death; but the execution of the sentences was deferred, and it has been suggested that Reynolds may have insisted upon the Government adhering to the condition on which he had given information, and thus caused them to hesitate. There is no evidence of this, however, and no other evidence than Reynolds's own assertion, as recorded by his son, that such a stipulation was made. On the other hand, there is the evidence of Arthur O'Connor, in his letter to Lord Castlereagh, that it was intimated to him, to induce him to make a statement, that the Privy Council was divided in sentiment on the subject of the executions, and that Bond's life would be spared if the required statement was made.

On the day preceding Bond's trial, a gentleman named Dobbs, a Liberal member of the Irish Parliament, and formerly an officer of the Volunteers, attempted to mediate with the Government on behalf of the prisoners. Lord Castlereagh consented to stay the further exercise of the hangman's office, on the condition that the prisoners should make a full disclosure of the conspiracy, with the names of all the parties concerned. An undertaking in this sense was drawn up, and submitted to Neilson, who refused to sign it, but expressed willingness, on the part of himself and others, to give full information concerning the arms, ammunition, and schemes of warfare of the United Irishmen, and to consent to leave Ireland,

provided the lives of Bond and Byrne should be spared. Lord Castlereagh accepted this alternative, and an agreement was prepared in accordance with Neilson's proposition, and signed by all the United Irishmen in custody, with the exception of O'Connor, Emmet, and Macnevin, who, on its being submitted to them on the 24th, by Dobbs and the Sheriff of Dublin, refused their adhesion, not only from unwillingness to enter into any conditions with the Government, but because they thought no object which was not general could justify them in entering into such a compact, and because the probability of its being attributed to a desire to save their own lives constituted an insuperable objection, if there had been no other. They thought, too, that to save the lives of Bond and Byrne enough had signed their self-sacrifice to induce the Ministers, already sated with blood, as Lords Castlereagh and Clare had declared themselves to be, to dispense with their signatures.*

The refusal of the chiefs to sign the amended document was followed by Byrne's execution, after which O'Connor, anxious to save Bond, who was his intimate friend, and had been led by him into the conspiracy, and learning that the Council had been divided in sentiment, and that his compliance would save Bond's life, consented to meet Lord Castlereagh, for the purpose of arranging terms with the Govern-

* These are the motives assigned by O'Connor himself, in the letter to Lord Castlereagh, which was taken from him in prison, but which found its way into O'Connor's journal, and subsequently into a volume of extracts therefrom, published with the title of "Beauties of the Press." Feargus O'Connor had a copy of this work, which he believed to be the only one in existence.

ment. As a precaution against misrepresentation, he stipulated that Emmet and Macnevin should be present during the interview, and that they should have the right of publishing whatever took place. This was assented to, and Lord Clare and Cooke accompanied Lord Castlereagh on the part of the Government.

When they were all assembled, O'Connor demanded that he should not be required to sign any conditions, but that he should be brought to trial. To this Castlereagh would not assent, and O'Connor then endeavoured to make the terms as wide as he could. He observed that, as the information he could give might be made the ground of a charge of constructive treason, he should withhold it unless he was assured that no more lives would be sacrificed. Lord Clare observed that, if his advice had been followed, every United Irishman would have been prosecuted for treason; to which O'Connor replied that he must then have prosecuted the people of Ireland to extermination, as nearly the whole of them were affiliated to the association. Lord Castlereagh assured him that no more lives should be taken for any acts hitherto done in the Union, except for murder; and to that exception O'Connor assented. Castlereagh then asked if it was to be understood that the information to be given, under the compact to be entered into, was to be given as that of the accused present, or whether they insisted upon its being general, without their names being mentioned; to which the reply was, that they insisted upon the right of publishing the whole of the information given, and of refuting any misrepresentations which might be made.

O'Connor wished to complete the transaction in the presence of Lord Cornwallis, but Castlereagh objected, assuring him at the same time that the honour of the Viceroy was pledged for the performance of the agreement, and Lord Clare said: "It comes to this, either you must trust the Government, or the Government must trust you. A Government which would violate engagements thus solemnly made neither could stand nor would deserve to stand." Upon the faith of these representations, the following agreement was drawn up, and signed by seventy-three prisoners, including O'Connor, Emmet, and Macnevin:—

"That the undersigned State prisoners, in the prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen, and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign States; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever, and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and Government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of the Government, and not to pass into an enemy's country; if, on their so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution, and also Mr. Oliver Bond be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The State prisoners also hope that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody or not in custody as may choose to benefit by it."

The last sentence was added to mark that more was stipulated for than could be expressed. Pursuant to this agreement, O'Connor, Emmet, and Macnevin drew up a memoir, giving an account of the origin, principles, conduct, and views of the United Irishmen, which they signed and delivered to Lord Castlereagh on the 4th of August. Two days afterwards Cooke went to the prison, and, after acknowledging that the memoir was a perfect performance of the agreement on the part of the accused, said that Lord Cornwallis objected to it that it was a vindication of the United Irishmen and a condemnation of the Government, on which account he could not receive it, and wished it to be altered. This the prisoners refused, saying that it was all true, and it was the truth they were pledged to deliver. Cooke then asked them whether, if the Government published only portions of the memoir, they would refrain from publishing it entire; to which they replied that, having stipulated for the liberty of publication, they should use that right when and in the manner they deemed proper. Cooke observed that, in that case, the Government would have to hire persons to answer them, and he supposed the United Irishmen would reply, so that a paper war would be carried on without end.

Finding that the prisoners would not allow the memoir to be garbled, the Government determined to examine them before a secret committee, and thus attain the object in the report. When the inquiry was complete, and after Macnevin had twice complained of the delay of the Government to carry out the agreement, Cooke visited the prisoners and told

them they were at liberty to go where they pleased, provided they left the British dominions, and that whatever concerned them afterwards would be secured by an Act of Parliament, adding that nothing remained but to settle the nature of the accommodation which they required to enable them to dispose of their property prior to their departure. The committee had not then reported, but the Ministerial journals had anticipated the report by publishing statements concerning the disclosures made by the prisoners, which the latter asserted to be scurrilous falsehoods; and the Bill referred to by Cooke set forth in its preamble that they had "confessed themselves conscious of flagrant and enormous guilt, expressed contrition, and humbly implored mercy, on condition of being transported, banished, or exiled to such foreign country as to his Majesty in his royal wisdom shall seem fit."

Neilson immediately wrote to Lord Castlereagh, protesting against these terms, and at the same time sent to the *Courier* a copy of the compact, with a letter declaring that he and his fellow-prisoners had neither acknowledged a crime, retracted an opinion, nor implored pardon, adding that their object was to stop the effusion of blood. Two hours after the letter to Lord Castlereagh, which enclosed a copy of the other, had been sent, Cooke and another Castle official entered his cell, and the former told him he had lost his judgment, and that Lord Cornwallis would consider the publication of the letter as an infraction of the agreement, and that executions would go on as before. Neilson refused to retract,

and Cooke, after repeating the Lord-Lieutenant's threat, left him.

Notwithstanding the assurance given by Cooke on the 18th of August, the prisoners were not released. On the 25th of September O'Connor wrote to Lord Cornwallis, demanding the fulfilment of the engagement to which Lord Castlereagh had pledged him; and on the 21st of October he received a letter from Cooke, informing him that the prisoners would be required to emigrate to America, and to give security not to return to Europe. This was a direct violation of the written compact which Lord Clare had said no Government could violate and stand, or deserve to stand, but even this modification of the terms was not carried out. Six weeks more passed, and a memorandum was received in the handwriting of Lord Castlereagh, stating that O'Connor, Emmet, Macnevin, Neilson, and eleven others could not then be liberated, owing to a lamentable change of circumstances; but that the rest of the prisoners named in the Banishment Act would be permitted to retire to any neutral State, giving security not to pass into an enemy's country, and that the like indulgence would be extended to the excepted prisoners as soon as regard for the public safety rendered that course possible.

In the meantime, a tardy attempt had been made to fan the dying embers of the rebellion into a flame. Wolfe Tone was called, early in July, to a consultation with the French Ministers of War and Marine, and it was agreed to despatch several small expeditions to Ireland as rapidly as they could be

prepared, to revive the rebellion and distract the British Government, pending the sailing of a larger force under General Kilmaine. In accordance with this arrangement, General Humbert landed at Killala on the 22nd of August, at the head of a thousand men and a few light guns, and accompanied by Matthew Tone, Teeling, and another Irishman, named Sullivan. Killala was occupied without resistance, and on the following morning the invaders marched to Ballina, a few miles southward. The garrison fled, after a very slight resistance, and Humbert left a small force in the town, and returned to Killala.

The peasants of the district flocked to Humbert's standard, and a thousand of them were armed with muskets brought from France for the purpose. With this augmented force he marched on the 26th to Castlebar, where General Lake had arrived in haste, with six thousand men, well provided with artillery. Early on the following morning, the rebels and their French allies found themselves, after a fatiguing march of fifteen hours, confronted with the British troops, strongly posted before Castlebar. After a half-hour's skirmishing, the British, though more than three times as numerous as the force opposed to them, fled in disorder, abandoning their artillery and a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and military stores and baggage of every description. The cause of Lake's defeat seems to be revealed in the fact that a large proportion of his force consisted of Irish militia, who made a feeble resistance, throwing down their arms, and being made prisoners by hundreds. Nearly the whole of these prisoners, belonging chiefly

to the Louth and Kilkenny militia, immediately joined the forces of Humbert.

Lord Cornwallis took the field a few days afterwards with a large force, and all the disposable troops in Ireland moved towards Connaught. On the 4th of September Humbert evacuated Castlebar, to avoid being hemmed in, and made a rapid march towards Leitrim, influenced by a rumour of an insurrectionary movement in Longford. He was surrounded by Lord Cornwallis's forces, thirty thousand strong, however, at Ballinamuck, in the county of Longford, and, after a slight resistance, surrendered. Sullivan, who had lived some years in France, saved himself by assuming the character of a French officer; but Tone and Teeling were sent, handcuffed, to Dublin, where they were tried by court-martial, and executed. Most of the Irish prisoners experienced the same fate.

Napper Tandy, and between twenty and thirty other Irish refugees in France, embarked about the same time, in a small fast-sailing vessel, for the north of Ireland, to share the fortunes of those who had preceded them. They landed on the island of Rathlin, but, on hearing of Humbert's surrender, re-embarked, and shaped their course for Norway. On the 20th, the news of the failure of Humbert's expedition not having reached France, General Hardy sailed from Brest with three thousand men, and after a long and tedious voyage, owing to adverse winds, anchored off the entrance of Lough Swilly on the 10th of October. Wolfe Tone, who with three other United Irishmen, accompanied the expedition, had no faith in these desultory and inefficient enterprises, but, seeing no hope of Kilmaine's

expedition being ready in time to be of any service to the Irish cause, threw himself into this final effort as a forlorn hope. It was, in truth, a desperate enterprise. The abortive movement in Ulster had been crushed, and the dawn of the 11th showed a superior naval force, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, bearing down upon the French ships, as they were preparing to sail up the Lough. Escape was impossible, unless by victory; the French made a gallant resistance, fighting until their ships were dismasted and riddled with shot, when the tricolour was at length lowered, and the survivors became prisoners of war.

Tone escaped observation in the uniform of a French officer until some days after the action, when Sir George Hill, who had been his fellow-student at Trinity College, and was now a secret agent of the Government, accompanied some police-officers to the north, and pointed Tone out while breakfasting with the Earl of Cavan. He was immediately handcuffed, and hurried off to Dublin, where, after being kept in suspense as to his fate for nearly a month, he was tried by court-martial and condemned to death. He delivered an eloquent speech in vindication of his conduct, without any hope of averting his fate, and made an earnest appeal to the court to be spared the degrading contact of the hangman. Lord Cornwallis, in confirming the sentence, disregarded this appeal, and Tone was ordered for execution on the 12th of November, being the second day after the trial.

The prisoner had many influential friends, and a great effort was made to save him. On the morning fixed for his execution, Curran, his early and constant

friend, applied to Lord Kilwarden, sitting in the Court of King's Bench, for a writ of *habeas corpus*, on the ground that, the rebellion having been suppressed, and Tone holding no commission in the British army, the application of martial law was in his case illegal. Lord Kilwarden issued the writ, which was immediately conveyed to the barrack in which Tone was confined, it being feared that the prisoner would be hanged before execution could be stayed. Some delay was occasioned by the refusal of the provost and Major Sandys, the commandant, to obey the writ; upon which the judge ordered the sheriff to take Major Sandys and the provost into custody, and bring up the prisoner by force. The excitement in and around the Court now became terrible. Another brief period of painful suspense intervened, and then the sheriff returned with the announcement that he had been refused admission into the prisoner's cell, but was informed that he had cut his throat at an early hour that morning, and could not be moved. Dr. Lentaigne, a French emigrant of the medical profession, accompanied the sheriff to the Court, and supplemented the announcement of that official with the further information that he had been called at four o'clock to Tone's cell, and found that he had severed his windpipe with a penknife. There was, he added, little hope of the prisoner's recovery, and, in the meantime, a sentry had been placed over him to prevent him from speaking.

The sensation produced by this announcement was most painful, the suspicions which arose upon it dark and terrible. It was believed by many that Tone had been murdered, and the conduct of the military autho-

rities went far to justify them. So many atrocities had been perpetrated by the ruling faction in Ireland that the people may be excused their belief that Tone was slain to prevent his surrender to the civil power. But where there is only a suspicion of guilt, the accused must have the benefit of the doubt. Tone was known to have had an intense horror of the personal indignity attending death at the hands of the hangman, and Dr. Lentaigne asserted that he remarked, as well as he was able to articulate, whilst receiving his assistance, that he had found that he was a bad anatomist. It is probable, therefore, that he committed suicide to avoid being hanged.

Though he hovered between life and death until the 19th, he could not be moved from his cell, and, according to Harwood, was seen only by Dr. Lentaigne and the soldier who guarded him; but Madden states that a gentleman named Fitzpatrick was allowed to see him. Only two persons were allowed to attend his funeral, the authorities nominating for that sad duty a relative named Dunbavin, and a Dublin brazier, named Ebbs. His remains were interred in the old cemetery of Bodenstown, close by the wall, on the south side of the ruined abbey, in the family vault, which had so short a time before closed over those of his brother Matthew. Many years after his death a slab was placed near the grave, bearing the inscription:—"Sacred to the memory of Theobald Wolfe Tone, who died for Ireland on the 19th of November, 1798."

Order was now re-established in Ireland, such order at least as can exist when the foundations of the

social edifice are cemented with blood. It was not, however, until the 18th of March, 1799, that any change was made in the condition of the political prisoners whose compact with Lord Castlereagh had been so basely violated by the Government. They then received notice that they were to go on board one of the King's ships early on the following morning; whether to be conveyed to a foreign port, or to Botany Bay, or to be thrown overboard at sea, they were not told. Neilson, who was prostrated by intermittent fever, protested; but in vain. Bond, to save whose life they had consented to expatriate themselves, was now dead, and his mortal remains lying near those of the brothers Sheares. In the grey dawn of an early spring morning they were removed as privately as possible to a vessel lying in the Liffey, which immediately put to sea. On the 14th of April they arrived at Fort George, on the southern shore of the Moray Firth, where they were detained in captivity more than three years longer—namely, until the 30th of June, 1802, when they were liberated, and allowed to proceed to the Continent.

On their arrival at Cuxhaven they separated, O'Connor going direct to Paris, and Emmet to Brussels, while Macnevin made the tour of Germany and Switzerland, proceeding to Paris in the autumn. Communications between Macnevin and Talleyrand, with a view to another French invasion of Ireland, commenced almost immediately, but were not approved by Emmet, as peace then existed between France and Britain; but the latter's objection seems to have applied only to the time being, as he expressed

to a friend his intention of going to America with Macnevin, "unless some change shall take place that would in both cases reverse all our calculations." Emmet proceeded to Paris in the spring of 1803, where his brother Robert, then in his twenty-fifth year, with Macnevin and Russell, had already begun drawing together the broken threads of the conspiracy of 1798.

O'Connor informed Madden in 1842 that "there were persons who were opposed to him who had communications with France, and this party was reorganised in Paris in 1803. Their plans were connected with Robert Emmet's plot, but were not communicated to him (O'Connor); they were divulged to him by the French Government. The person in this party in Paris who had most influence was Russell. Buonaparte, in conversing with General O'Connor, expressed himself unfavourably of the attempt and of those engaged in it." The design of this new conspiracy was based on the anticipation of a speedy rupture between France and Britain, and the impression, derived from an interview with Buonaparte and frequent communications with Talleyrand, that an invasion of England would be attempted in the summer of 1803. Assurances of support were received from influential persons in Ireland, and as early as October, 1802, Robert Emmet proceeded to that country, viâ Holland.

On his arrival in Dublin, ostensibly on private business, young Emmet communicated with the United Irishmen who were still at large and who had taken an active part in the rebellion, and "some very influential persons who were cognisant of all the proceedings of the leaders, and who promoted their views

and directed their movements behind the curtain."* Among the former were Colonel Lumm, Bernard Duggan, and an attorney named Gray, who had been Harvey's aide-de-camp at the battle of New Ross, and one of the Wicklow rebels, named Dwyer; and among the latter Madden indicates by initials Fitzgerald, brother of the Knight of Glin, and Lord Wycombe, eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

War between Britain and France was renewed in March, 1803, and Emmet immediately commenced his preparations for revolt. Money was supplied for arms, ammunition, &c., by a provision-merchant named Long, a member of the Dublin firm of Roche and Co., who was intimately acquainted with the Emmets, and probably by some of the influential persons alluded to by Madden. Houses were taken in Thomas Street, Patrick Street, Wine Tavern Street, and Marshalsea Lane, for the manufacture and storage of arms and ammunition, and forty men employed in making pikes, cartridges, grenades, and rockets. The rockets—missiles then almost unknown—were made by a dyer named Macdonnell, who had some knowledge of chemistry, but was so careless that he smoked while at work, and one day, while so engaged, ignited some fuses, causing an explosion which attracted the attention of the authorities, and caused the house to be searched by Major Sirr, without, however, any discovery being made.

The old difference of opinion as to the expediency of an insurrection unaided by France again distracted the councils of the conspirators on its becoming

* Madden.

doubtful whether aid would be given, and there were also dissensions at this time as to whether Ireland, in the event of success, should be declared a separate and independent republic, or become a dependency of France. Buonaparte recommended the appointment of a commission to make provisional arrangements, and wished O'Connor and Emmet to be members; but the latter had little faith in the First Consul, and he and O'Connor already regarded each other with reserve and distrust. O'Connor seems to have been still disposed to rely upon French aid, while Emmet retained the contrary view. Sanguine reports of progress were received from Robert Emmet, and Russell went over to Ireland to take part in the organisation of the revolt.

Robert Emmet continued hopeful of success until within an hour of the collapse of the enterprise. His depôts were filled with arms and ammunition, and he had no doubt that men to use them would be forthcoming when the signal was given for action. His strategical arrangements were ably designed, and he had in store nine thousand pikes, and, though muskets were few, sixty-two thousand cartridges, besides rockets and grenades. There would have been more muskets but for the dishonesty of a man whom he sent for some cases which had been contracted for, and who absconded with the money entrusted to him to pay for them. There were not many men enrolled in Dublin for the enterprise, but his lieutenants were to bring in thousands from Wicklow, Kildare, and Wexford, and he had no doubt that the masses of the capital would rise at the first shot.

On the 23rd of July a council was held at Long's

house, mounted messengers having previously been despatched to warn the leaders of the expected contingents that the rising would take place that night. But the resolution was no sooner taken than everything seemed to conspire against its execution. The messenger who was sent to warn Dwyer lost heart, and proceeded no farther than Rathfarnham. The Kildare men came in, but being informed by a traitor to the cause that the rising had been postponed, returned to their homes. Between two and three hundred Wexford men also reached the post assigned to them, and a large body of Dublin men assembled at the Broadstone awaiting the signal rocket; but the signal for action was not given. At nine o'clock Emmet seems to have become doubtful of success, only eighty men having joined him at the rendezvous in Marshalsea Lane; but at that moment a man rushed in with the intelligence, which proved to be false, that a large body of troops was advancing towards the place, and this caused Emmet to decide upon instant action at all risks.

He put on his green uniform, and ordered the arms to be distributed, and a signal rocket fired. The stores were all in confusion, however, and the fuses for the rockets could not be found. The scaling ladders were also invisible, only one being discovered. Emmet sallied into Thomas Street with his eighty followers, however, and at Bicker Street was joined by about eighty more, many of whom were more or less intoxicated. They proceeded in a disorderly manner towards the Castle, but they were not clear of Thomas Street when the stragglers in the rear began rioting and plundering. Emmet called a halt for the

purpose of endeavouring to restore order, and, being informed that Lord Kilwarden's carriage was stopped by the rearguard, and that the aged judge and his nephew were being murdered, he hastened to the rear. Lord Kilwarden and his nephew were stretched in their blood on the road, and the judge's daughter was trembling in a corner of the carriage. Emmet immediately conducted the young lady to a place of safety, and hurried to the head of the column, where all was now noise and confusion. The object of the enterprise seemed to have become lost sight of, by all but the leaders, in the desire to drink, shout, and plunder. While a vain attempt to attain some degree of order and discipline was being made, a company of infantry appeared at the corner of Cutpurse Row, and fired a volley into the rioters' broken ranks. The latter immediately fled in all directions, a second volley accelerating their flight.

Emmet disappeared in the confusion, and, with several more, reached the house of a dairyman named Devlin, who was related to Dwyer, and implicated in the plot. On the following night they fled into the Wicklow mountains, where they found Dwyer and his contingent eager for revolt; but Emmet was now convinced of the hopelessness of success, and resolved to return to France. He was unwilling to leave Ireland, however, without an interview with Curran's sister, whom he was engaged to marry, and, with this object in view, he returned to a former hiding-place at Harold's Cross. Devlin's house had been surrounded by the military on the morning after his departure, and searched by a brutal magistrate, who ordered the dairyman's daughter to be tortured until

she revealed the place of Emmet's concealment. The hapless young woman was pricked with bayonets until she was covered with blood, threatened with instant death, and hanged until she became insensible, when she was lowered to the ground and the noose relaxed. Still refusing to betray Emmet, she was removed to Dublin, and lodged in gaol.

On the 25th of August, Major Sirr presented himself at the house at Harold's Cross in which Emmet still lingered, and, entering the room in which the rebel chief, who was unknown to him, was sitting, inquired his name. Emmet gave the name of Cunningham, upon which Sirr, after taking the precaution of leaving a man to guard him, proceeded to question the occupier, who gave the guest's name as Hewitt. The discrepancy convinced Sirr that he had found the man he was seeking, and Emmet strengthened the conviction by attempting to escape. He was knocked down, however, by the man who was guarding him, and Sirr, having procured a military guard, proceeded to question Emmet's hostess. While thus engaged, a scuffle was heard, and, on rushing to the back of the house, he saw Emmet flying across the fields. Sirr gave chase, and Emmet, finding that he would be run down, surrendered. He was then taken to the Castle, where he admitted his identity with the leader of the abortive insurrection.

An attempt to procure his escape by bribing one of the warders of the prison in which he was confined failed, escape being found impracticable without the connivance of a large number of persons, and he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death on the 19th of September. His eloquent speech is well known,

having been reprinted frequently, and probably read more extensively than any other production of its kind. Strenuous efforts were made to procure a commutation of the sentence, but the Government was inexorable, and he was executed on the following morning.

Russell also suffered death, and then the leaders of the United Irishmen were reduced to O'Connor, Macnevin, and the elder Emmet. Neilson, long suffering from ill-health, had gone to America only to die, his death taking place at Poughkeepsie, a little town on the Hudson, while Robert Emmet was in hiding at Harold's Cross. Tandy died the same year at Bordeaux. He had had some narrow escapes since his adventure of 1798. On landing in Norway, he set out to return to Paris, but was arrested at Hamburg on the demand of the British Minister there, and sent to Dublin, where he was held in custody until the 12th of February, 1800. He was then tried, and had the rare good fortune to be acquitted. Fourteen months afterwards, however, he was re-arrested at Lifford, and tried for landing in arms on the island of Rathlin in 1798. Of this he was convicted, and he would have been hanged if Buonaparte had not interposed, on the ground of his holding a General's commission in the French army, with the threat of breaking off the negotiations for peace unless he was pardoned. The British Government was fain to yield, but some pretext was found to retain Tandy in custody until Lord Cornwallis was succeeded in the vice-royalty of Ireland by Lord Hardwicke, who contended that he was not bound by the promise of his predecessor, and determined to

send the prisoner to Botany Bay. Tandy's son threatening to publish the official correspondence on the subject, the Government offered to let the prisoner escape on the way, urging that they merely desired, as a matter of policy, to create the belief that he had not been pardoned. This offer being rejected, they proposed that he should undertake to reside either in Portugal or the United States; but young Tandy would consent to nothing less than the literal fulfilment of the condition, and his father was at length liberated and allowed to return to France.

Emmet left France in the autumn of 1804, and commenced a long and successful career at the bar of the United States. He was appointed to the Attorney-Generalship of the State of New York in 1812, and died in 1827. A monument to his memory stands in the principal street of New York. Macnevin obtained high repute as a physician, and resided in New York until his death, which took place in 1841. O'Connor's career, subsequently to his expatriation, I will tell in the words of his nephew, the late Feargus O'Connor, some time Parliamentary representative of Nottingham.

"My uncle," he says, "became General of a Division under Napoleon, and some short time after, when Napoleon wished to divert the English mind, he sent an immense number of troops to Calais, of which my uncle was commander-in-chief. The impression upon my uncle's mind was that those troops were to invade Ireland. However, upon one occasion, Marshal Soult arrived at Calais, and told my uncle that the army he commanded was sent there for the mere purpose of alarming England, while Napoleon's intention was

not to invade Ireland. Upon hearing this announcement, my uncle started for Paris, and threw his commission in Napoleon's face. Subsequently, Napoleon offered him the command of the army which was to invade Spain, and which was commanded by Massena. My uncle, however, refused the commission, stating that, as he had struggled for the liberty of his own country, he would not be a party to destroying the liberty of any other people.

"He subsequently proposed for Napoleon's sister, who married Murat. Napoleon gave his consent, but when the fact was announced to Carnot, then the Prime Minister of Napoleon, Carnot told him that O'Connor was too ambitious a man, and that he had better retract his consent; and Carnot's desire was complied with. Some short time after Napoleon had withdrawn his consent, David, the celebrated French artist of that day, was taking a full-length likeness of my uncle, in his General's uniform. When the likeness was nearly completed, the Marchioness of Condorcet took her only child, a girl of about twelve years of age, to have her likeness taken by the same artist. My uncle was one of the handsomest men in the kingdom, and when the young girl saw his likeness she fell desperately in love with it, and said she should like to see the original. David told them that if they came next day at a particular hour, they would see the original. The Marchioness and her daughter kept the appointment, and when she saw my uncle she fell desperately in love with him. The Marchioness invited him to her soirées, and in a short time told him that her daughter was so desperately in love with him that she did not know what to do;

whereupon the General recommended her to send her to school to some foreign country for a few years, and then she would get over her affection. She was accordingly sent to school for four or five years, and on her return, when she met my uncle at her mother's, she was, if possible, more attached to him than ever; and, to make a long story short, they were married, and up to this hour, though he is in his ninetieth year, I do not suppose that any new married couple were ever more devotedly attached to each other than they are."

This was written in 1850. It is, I believe, substantially correct, though it may be doubted that Arthur O'Connor literally threw his commission in Napoleon's face, and was afterwards offered the command of the army destined for Spain, and promised the hand of the Emperor's youngest sister. He resigned his command, however, under the circumstances related, and devoted himself to rural pursuits, farming the estate of Begnon, formerly the property of Mirabeau. O'Connor purchased it in 1808, and subsequently succeeded to the estates of the Condorcet family.

CHAPTER III.

THE PHILADELPHIANS.

WHILE Buonaparte was negotiating with the chiefs of a secret society which aimed at the dismemberment of the British Empire, an association was being organised in France with the object of hurling him from the proud height to which he had climbed, and whence the imperial crown seemed almost within his grasp. At the time when the authority of the Directory passed into his hands as First Consul, there existed at Besançon an association called the Philadelphic Society, consisting of about sixty members, who, without having any political object in view, were united by the similarity of their dispositions and tastes. Among the members was General Malet, an able officer, of restless and enterprising character, who had entered the army at an early age, and commanded the first battalion formed in the department of Jura at the commencement of the wars of the Revolution. The Philadelphians had existed for some time as a quiet reading and debating society, when Malet, who had lately been removed by Buonaparte from the command at Rome, conceived the idea of making it instrumental in effecting the restoration of the Bourbons, an object which he was led to contemplate partly from resentment at having

been superseded, and partly as a means of counteracting the despotic tendencies of the First Consul's disposition. He did not, however, possess the tact and skill in organisation which such an enterprise required, and he sought amongst his friends and acquaintances for an associate who possessed those qualities, and in whom he could confide.

The friend whom he selected for this difficult and dangerous task was an officer named Oudet, who, though only twenty-five years of age, had attained a high military reputation and the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was the son of respectable parents in the department of the Jura, and had served with distinction in the Vendean war, in the numerous skirmishes of which he had several times been severely wounded. He had received only an ordinary education, but his mind was fertile in resources, quick in estimating the value of circumstances, skilful in combination, and daring and resolute in the execution of his purposes. Being a Freemason, and intimately acquainted with the Masonic system, he resolved to apply his knowledge of its mysteries to the reorganisation of the Philadelphic Society in conformity with the views entertained by Malet and himself; for Oudet, though a decided republican, had discerned the tendency of every change in the constitution of the executive body since the fall of Robespierre to culminate in an absolute dictatorship, and saw in a constitutional monarchy, on the basis of a national compact with the Bourbons, the only means of counteracting them.

In order to conceal the real design of the new organisation, the better to insure eventual success, Oudet invested it with an air of mystery, and gave to

its external aspect something of Illuminism. The ostensible and avowed objects of the Society underwent little change, the pretext of the new organisation being the production of a type of moral perfection, the realisation of a grand idea of society and of humanity. Oudet began by inducing all the members to take an oath of secrecy and fidelity, and dividing them into three classes, to each of which he assigned certain duties, defined and regulated by fixed rules. Each class was completely unacquainted with the functions of the class above it, while the whole was so organised as to be ready for action whenever the opportunity for striking a blow should be presented. Oudet, as the founder and chief, wielded an absolute authority, and had the power to concentrate the whole force of the Society upon any given point at will, whenever its growth in numbers should give it the power in the State which he contemplated.

As soon as the reorganisation of the Society at Besançon was complete, Oudet undertook the more difficult and dangerous task of introducing the Philadelphic system into the army, in which he succeeded so well that, in a very short time, three regiments of the line—two of light infantry and one of dragoons—were initiated, without distinction of rank; and, with a view to preventing any suspicion of their connexion with the Society at Besançon, in the event of discovery, they were formed into the affiliated Society of the *Frères Bleus*. Emissaries started at the same time for the west and south-east to introduce the Philadelphic system among the peasantry, numbers of whom were initiated, with the same precaution and for the same reason, into the affiliated societies of the

Miquelets in the Pyrenean departments, the Barbets in the departments of the Alps, and the Bandoliers in Jura and Savoy.

The first result of the military affiliations was the conspiracy of September, 1800, concerning which Buonaparte never could obtain any certain information; and for an obvious reason. Oudet was the centre of many circles, which, though links of one chain, exhibited no apparent connexion, so that all the efforts of the astute and unscrupulous Fouché could never discover more than a few trifling ramifications. Oudet had no direct communication with Arena, and Fouché could not obtain the slightest evidence against him; but he seems to have been suspected by the First Consul, though probably only because he was known to be a decided Republican. He was ordered to join his regiment, then in garrison at St. Martin, in the Isle of Rhé, where he was received with a burst of enthusiasm which excited renewed distrust, but led to no discovery.

Among the arrested Philadelphians was a captain named Morgan, against whom the only evidence was that of a man not belonging to the Society, who asserted that he had seen among the trinkets of the accused some of a remarkable form. These were seized, and it was contended by the counsel for the prosecution that they were the insignia of some secret confederacy dangerous to the State. Morgan was subjected to a rigorous imprisonment, closely interrogated, and threatened with perpetual imprisonment unless he made the fullest disclosures. He refused to give any explanation, but becoming weary of confinement, and hopeless of liberation, he, it was

supposed, committed suicide. He was found dead in his cell, with his breast bare, and having tattooed upon it the same design as that displayed on the jewels which had led to his arrest. This emblem afterwards became that of the Legion of Honour, the head and device being changed, with which exceptions the symbol of the Philadelphians became a decoration which every Frenchman was soon to be proud to wear. "My brothers," said Oudet, when he heard of the circumstance, "who could have anticipated such a result? Buonaparte is our accomplice; and it is the Legion of Honour that will destroy the tyrant."*

The conspiracy of Arena was closely followed by that of Carbon and St. Rejant. On the evening of the 24th of December, Paris was thrown into consternation by the report of a tremendous explosion, and the rumour that an attempt had been made to assassinate the First Consul, on his way to the opera. It soon became known that a cart containing a barrel had been drawn across the Rue de Nicaise, a narrow street which the First Consul had to pass through on his way from the Tuileries, with the view of obstructing the progress of his carriage; but that the coachman had contrived to pass the obstacle at a fast trot, and thus baffled the murderous design with which it had been placed there. At the next moment the barrel exploded, shattering the glass of the Consular carriage, striking down the last man of the escort, wrecking between forty and fifty houses, destroying

* Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes de l'Armée et des Conspirations Militaires, attributed to Charles Nodier.

the lives of eight persons, and injuring nearly thirty others, who were in the street at the time of the explosion.

On his return to the Tuileries, Buonaparte met a crowd of public functionaries, who congratulated him on his escape, and to whom he vehemently declared that the attempt on his life was the work of the Jacobins. Neither the nobles, nor the priests, nor the Chouans, had any hand in it. "It is the Septembrisers," he loudly asserted, with impassioned gestures, "those wretches steeped in crime, who are in a state of permanent revolt, in close column, against every form of government. It is the assassins of Versailles, the brigands of the 31st of May, the authors of all the crimes against governments, who are again at their hellish work. It is the artisans and the journalists, who mingle their passions with their own violent imaginations, who are the authors of all those atrocities. If you cannot chain them, you must exterminate them; there can be no truce with such wretches. France must be purged of such an abominable crew."

Fouché stood, during this tirade, in the recess of a window, silent and pale. On being asked why he did not defend his party, he replied: "Let them go on; I will speak when the proper time arrives. He laughs securely who laughs last." On the following day, in the Council of State, Buonaparte held the same language as he had done on the night of the event. He objected to the proposition of a special commission for the trial of suspected persons, that the process would be too slow, and urged that fifteen or twenty of the leading Jacobins should be executed,

and about two hundred more deported to Cayenne without trial. Truguet hinted that the priests, not the Jacobins, might be the authors of the plot, but Buonaparte persisted that it was the work of the Republicans. The Council yielded to his representations, but, before any measures were taken against the objects of his hatred, Fouché discovered that the plot had been concocted by the Royalists. Buonaparte thereupon commanded that no allusion should be made in Fouché's report to the affair of the Rue de Nicaise, in order that the action he had determined to take might be based on the numerous acts of the Jacobins against the public peace.

In this sense Fouché made his first report, on which the First Consul based his demand for the transportation of more than a hundred of the leading Republicans without trial. It was in vain that Thibaudeau and Rœderer urged, in the Council of State, that there was no evidence of the complicity in the plot of the men of whom he desired to be rid, and that it would be unjust to condemn them unheard and without trial. "It matters not," said the inexorable despot; "they will be transported for their share in the massacres in the prisons, for their accession to the revolt of the 31st of May, for the conspiracy of Babeuf, for all that they have done since, and for all they may still do." The Council yielded, and a hundred and thirty of the First Consul's enemies were transported, without trial, to the pestilent swamps of Cayenne. A month afterwards Fouché made a second report, announcing that the horse attached to the infernal machine had furnished a clue to the authors of the plot of the Rue de Nicaise, who

had been arrested, and proved to be emissaries of the Chouan chief, Georges Cadoudal, named Carbon, St. Rejant, and Limolan, who were subsequently tried and executed.

Though there was no evidence to connect Oudet with this plot, and he was not implicated in the conspiracies for which the Jacobins had been deported, he was too able a man, being also an earnest Republican, not to be feared; and Buonaparte deprived him of his rank, and ordered him to reside at Menale, a village in Jura, until he received permission to leave that retirement. Oudet obeyed, and from among the general officers who were affiliated to the Philadelphic Society, and who, in addition to Malet, included Moreau, Lahorie, and Guidal, he chose Moreau to succeed him as chief of the Society, and unfolded to him all the ramifications of his policy and of the Philadelphian system.

The motives which induced Moreau to engage in this conspiracy were not sufficiently known by his contemporaries to inspire the hope that they will ever become matter of authentic history. That the hero of Hohenlinden, one of the most prominent instruments by which the Revolution had been maintained against the antagonism of all the Courts of Europe, should at this moment have become a Legitimist, prepared to use all his influence in aid of a counter-revolution, is scarcely credible. It is more probable that he was actuated by the same motive as Oudet and Malet, and, foreseeing the extinction of the Republic, and fearing the consequences to France of a military dictatorship in the person of one so ambitious and so unscrupulous as Buonaparte, wished to

restore the Bourbons with constitutional guarantees for liberty. A numerous party in the Senate had privately offered to support him as a rival to Buonaparte; he possessed the confidence of four thousand officers, members of the Philadelphic Society, and a large portion of the army would have hailed with acclamations his accession to power. It is obvious, therefore, that he held at his command all the elements of a counter-revolution; but he was unwilling to undertake an enterprise of so much importance without being assured of the concurrence of the Bourbon princes, and obtaining from them guarantees for the establishment of liberal institutions.

General Malet fell under the suspicion of plotting against the First Consul in 1802, as the chief agent in the conspiracy of which Fouché says Bernadotte was the mover, and Madame de Staël the centre, but which has escaped the notice of historians. Fouché was himself suspected of complicity in the plot, and was denounced by Dubois, then Prefect of Police; but, with his usual adroitness, he contrived to retain his freedom. Malet, less fortunate, was arrested and suffered two years' imprisonment.

The relations between the Philadelphic leaders and the Royalists are involved in some mystery, but there is no doubt that the connecting link was Pichégru, who had been associated with Moreau in the army of the Rhine, and who, on his escape from Cayenne, proceeded to England, where he entered into communication with the brothers of Louis XVI., with members of the British Government, and with Moreau. The caution and the moderate principles of the latter were

averse to the unconditional restoration of the Bourbons, as proposed by Pichégru after interviews with the Count of Provence and the Count of Artois. Pichégru's scheme was indeed impracticable, for the number of Bourbonists was very small, and Cadoudal, though he assumed such a prominent position in the affair, had no other weight than was derived from his personal courage and his unqualified loyalty to the deposed dynasty. He had no national or even Parisian reputation, and was countenanced by Moreau only because he might be made useful. The Chouan element became a source of embarrassment, however, and, notwithstanding the prudence and sagacity of Moreau, his profound and skilfully devised combinations were pushed forward rashly and prematurely by Cadoudal, Lajolais, and the Polignacs. These chiefs were eager to extinguish the Consulate, and Moreau was frequently and impatiently urged by them to seize Buonaparte alive or dead, and proclaim the restoration of the monarchy; but, deeming the time not yet favourable for the execution of so bold a design, he constantly refused. He could not, however, enforce from Pichégru and Cadoudal the obedience rendered to him by the Philadelphians; and, as he persisted in refusing to participate in any movement against the Consulate without first obtaining a guarantee for a constitutional basis for the monarchy, they determined to proceed with their measures without him.

Early in June, 1803, Lord Pelham told the Earl of Malmesbury, as private intelligence from France, "that the Republicans and the Royalists were very numerous, and that if they could be brought to trust

each other, and be convinced that if either gained possession of the power they would not persecute the other, a revolution might be operated."* A month later, Pelham told him "that Pichégru was the man confided in by Provence, and that he thought Moreau might be had." It was not, however, until the beginning of February, 1804, that the details of the conspiracy were communicated to him. "About this time," he says, "in the beginning of February, the measures concerted by Pichégru, Moreau, &c., were confided to me. They were represented as *immanquable*. The idea was the restoration of the monarchy under a Bourbon prince. Their plans were extensive and, as they thought, well and secretly arranged. Pichégru left England about the middle of January. As soon as anything like a successful step had taken place, and whenever the event became certain, and the moment arrived that a more conspicuous character was necessary, Lord Hertford was to appear in the double character of making peace and restoring the old dynasty. The Duc d'Angoulême was to have gone to France on due notice being given him. The event proved it was a very wide and deep-laid plot, but it also proved improper persons had been confided in or imprudent language held."

About thirty of the Royalist leaders, including Cadoudal, Lajolais, St. Victor, and the Polignacs, were in London at this time conspiring with the British Government, the Bourbon princes, and General Pichégru, against the established order of things in France. Lajolais made more than one

* Diary of the Earl of Malmesbury.

journey between London and Paris, and was detected by Fouché, to whom he is supposed to have revealed the plot. Regnier, who had at this time succeeded Fouché in the Ministry of Police, asserted, however, that an agent of the conspirators was detected at Calais, and papers found upon him which disclosed a correspondence between Pichégru and Moreau. This agent, whom Regnier did not name in his report, may have been Lajolais, who perhaps procured by his disclosures immunity from arrest. Whatever Fouché learned at this time he kept to himself, being in disgrace, and feeling confident that his aid would be required in the unravelling of the plot, though it is certain that he never thoroughly understood it himself.

Pichégru and the Chouans passed over to France in small parties in the middle of January, and landed on the coast of Normandy, whence they proceeded to Paris, travelling only by night, in order to avoid observation, and selecting the least frequented roads. On their arrival in Paris, Pichégru at once sought an interview with Moreau, without whom it was clear to him, if not to his associates, that nothing could be done. The two Generals had a conference on the Place de la Madelaine, and afterwards at the house of Moreau; but nothing came of their consultation. Pichégru was in the hands of the Bourbon princes, who were as impracticable as they showed themselves after the Restoration; and Moreau would not consent to aid in restoring the monarchy without a guarantee for liberal institutions. The Chouans reluctantly abandoned their plan of attacking Buonaparte on his way to Malmaison or St. Cloud, overthrowing

his guards and slaying him, and prepared to leave Paris.

Fouché, who had had them watched since their arrival in Paris, now saw that the time had come for him to act. He revealed the plot to the First Consul, who, he says, "recognised in the nature of the conspiracy, and especially in the implication of Moreau, a stroke of fortune which secured him the possession of the Empire. He thought that to show Moreau as a conspirator would suffice to destroy his popularity. This mistake, and the assassination of the Duke of Enghien, very nearly caused his ruin."* Buonaparte immediately summoned Regnier to his presence, and demanded to know how it was that Pichégru was in Paris, and that he, the Minister of Police, was unaware of the fact. Regnier affirmed, with an air of confidence, that Pichégru was still in London; but Fouché produced such incontrovertible evidence of his presence in Paris that Buonaparte confided to him the further conduct of the measures for unravelling the conspiracy. The wily ex-minister accepted the commission with a zest sharpened equally by his late exclusion from office and favour, and by his hatred of the Royalists; and all the Chouans, with the exception of Cadoudal, were promptly arrested, to the number of forty-two, and lodged in the Temple.

Among the prisoners was one named Ozier, who attempted suicide, and made disclosures which led to the arrest of Moreau. A general order to the troops in Paris announced his arrest in the following terms, and spread consternation throughout the capital:—

* Memoirs of the Duke of Otranto.

"Fifty brigands have penetrated into the capital! Georges and General Pichégru were at their head. Their coming was occasioned by a man who is yet numbered among our defenders—by General Moreau, who was yesterday consigned to the hands of the national justice. Their design was, after having assassinated the First Consul, to have delivered over France to the horrors of a civil war and all the terrible convulsions of a counter-revolution."

Regnier, who had been unaware of Pichégru's presence in Paris until it was announced by Fouché, now pretended to have known all about the conspiracy from the first, and made a report to the First Consul, in which the knowledge gleaned after the event was paraded as the results of his own vigilance and acuteness. "Last year," he reported, "a criminal reconciliation took place between Pichégru and Moreau, two men between whom honour should have placed an eternal barrier. The police seized at Calais one of their agents at the moment when he was preparing to return for the second time to England. In his possession were found all the documents which proved the reality of any accommodation inexplicable on any other principle than the bond which crime creates. Meanwhile the plot advanced. Lajolais, the friend and confidant of Pichégru, passed over secretly from Paris to London, and from London to Paris, communicating to Moreau the sentiments of Pichégru, and to Pichégru those of Moreau. The brigands of Georges were all this time secretly preparing at Paris the execution of their joint projects. A place was fixed on between Dieppe and Trefort, at a distance from observation, where the brigands of

England, brought thither in English ships of war, disembarked without being perceived, and there met persons corrupted to receive them—men paid to guide them during the night from one station to another, as far as Paris. There they found rooms ready hired for them by trusty guardians; they lodged in different quarters—at Chaillot, in the Rue du Bas, in the faubourg St. Marceau, in the Marais. Georges and eight brigands first disembarked; then Coster St. Victor and ten others; and in the first days of this month a third party arrived, consisting of Pichégru, Lajolais, and others. The conspirators met at the farm of La Potterie; Georges and Pichégru arrived in Paris. They lodged in the same house, surrounded by thirty brigands, whom Georges commanded. They met with General Moreau; the day, the hour, the place where the first conference was held were known; a second was fixed, but not accomplished; a third and a fourth took place in the house of Moreau himself. The traces of Georges and Pichégru have been followed from house to house; those who aided in their debarkation—those who under cover of night conducted them from post to post—those who gave them an asylum in Paris—their confidants, their accomplices—Lajolais, the chief go-between, and General Moreau—have been arrested."

Pichégru and Cadoudal were still at large, but on the 28th of February, a fortnight after the arrest of Moreau, a bribe of a hundred thousand crowns induced a stockbroker named Leblanc, in whose house the former was concealed, to betray him to the police. A numerous and well-armed party went to the house

at night; for Pichégru, like Cadoudal, was a man of powerful frame, immense strength, and tried courage. Pichégru had retired to rest, and the door of his chamber was locked. Leblanc produced a key which unlocked it, and the General was seen sleeping, with pistols by his side and a lamp burning on a table between the door and the bed. The police overturned the table, extinguished the lamp, and threw themselves upon him. A violent struggle ensued; but numbers prevailed, and Pichégru was overpowered and taken to the Temple.

Cadoudal evaded arrest until the evening of the 9th of March, when he was surrounded by the police while crossing the Place de la Odéon in a cab. Without an instant's hesitation he shot dead the man who had seized the horse's head, and with a second pistol severely wounded the first man who attempted to seize him; but he was overpowered by numbers, handcuffed, and hurried off to the Temple. These successive arrests created an extraordinary sensation, not only in Paris, but throughout France; and the excitement was increased by the startling announcement made on the morning of the 16th of April that Pichégru had been found dead in his cell —strangled—but whether by his own act or by that of his gaolers has never been clearly established. Suspicions of foul play were rife, and assertions that he had been assassinated received wide credence. The sailing-master of the British ship *Vincego*, captured in the Bay of Quiberon, and who afterwards published a narrative of his imprisonment and escape, says:—"I was at various times, and by different persons, shown the dungeon in which he was said to

have been strangled; and one man, who pretended to be well acquainted with all the circumstances of that mysterious business, declared to me that the unfortunate General was found dead, with his hands tied behind him, and a stick twisted in the hinder part of his neck-handkerchief."*

It is scarcely credible, however, that assassins would have left their victim's hands bound, and the circumstance was not mentioned in the report of the surgeons who examined the corpse, and who stated that it "was found with a black silk handkerchief tightly twisted round the neck by means of a small stick, about five inches long, which kept close on the left cheek, on which it rested by one end, thus preventing it unwinding, and producing the strangulation which had terminated in death." The gens-d'armes who were on duty near the General's cell deposed that they heard no noise during the night, except a sound which they thought was coughing, but which was described as "like a person breathing with difficulty," and lasted for some time. There was no other evidence, and the First Consul and his Ministers may be allowed the benefit of the doubt; but the impression was created very generally at the time that Pichégru was murdered to prevent the revelations which he had threatened to make on the trial, and which it was feared would exculpate Moreau and incriminate Fouché. Buonaparte was bent upon having Moreau convicted, and he was as unscrupulous as Fouché in the means which he used to attain his

* Narrative of Caleb Hiller.

ends; there were strong grounds, therefore, for the suspicion which the strange circumstances of Pichégru's death threw upon him; while the remark of Real, the lieutenant of Fouché, at the moment he was told of the event, that they (the police) would be suspected of having murdered the prisoner, seems to reveal the consciousness of guilt.

The connexion of Oudet with this plot being unsuspected, all the ramifications of Philadelphianism not having been traced by the police, it was at this time that Buonaparte terminated his enforced residence at Menale, and gave him the commission of major. He arrived in Paris immediately after the arrest of the conspirators, resumed his functions as chief of the Philadelphians, and proceeded immediately to concert a plan for the liberation of Moreau, in the event of his being capitally convicted. It is this conspiracy that is referred to by Beauchamp, who was not, however, fully acquainted with the circumstances. "The disgraceful victory which Buonaparte obtained over an enchained enemy," he relates, "nearly caused his own ruin. During the trial of Moreau there was a conspiracy formed to liberate him by force, in the event of his being condemned to death. The authors of this scheme were for the most part officers on furlough from the army. The police were apprised of the fact, and the Palace of Justice was surrounded with troops and cannon. It seems certain that this military conspiracy was anterior to the pretended conspiracy of Moreau, and, moreover, that it was not the hesitation of Moreau which caused the failure of the conspiracy of Pichégru, but the rash precipitancy

of Pichégru which defeated the real plans of Moreau."*

The precaution of surrounding the tribunal and lining the approaches with troops would not have prevented an outbreak if Moreau had been condemned; for, as the prisoners were each evening led back to the Temple, the files of soldiers between which they were conducted grounded their arms as the popular General passed, and whispered, "General, do you want us?" "No," Moreau replied; "I do not like bloodshed."† But if he had given the word, the Consulate would have been at an end, and Buonaparte a prisoner in the Temple, before the dawn of another day.

In order to ensure the condemnation of the conspirators, the Senate, at the instigation of Buonaparte, suspended trial by jury for attempts on the life of the First Consul, or against the security of the Republic. Had this precaution not been adopted, it is probable that Moreau would have been acquitted; and it was he whose conviction was deemed necessary to the success of Buonaparte's ambitious projects. All the prisoners, forty-five in number, were brought to trial at once, the proceedings commencing on the 28th of May, and lasting fourteen days. Cadoudal admitted his share in the conspiracy, and gloried in it; but Moreau declared that he had had no relations with the Chouans, and had declined to listen to the propositions of Pichégru. It was affirmed, on the other hand, by Lajolais and another prisoner, named Picot, that he had had interviews with Cadoudal during the

* Vie Privée de Moreau.
† Secret History of the Cabinet of Buonaparte.

latter's sojourn in Paris. During the trial he wrote to the First Consul a letter which was read to the Court, and in which he explained as follows his relations with Pichégru :—

"In the campaign of 1797 we took the papers of the Austrian staff. Amongst them were several which seemed to implicate Pichégru in a correspondence with the French princes ; this discovery gave us both great pain, but we resolved to bury it in oblivion, as Pichégru, being no longer at the head of the army, was not in a situation to do injury to the Republic. The events of the 18th Fructidor succeeded ; disquietude became universal, and two officers, who were acquainted with the correspondence, represented to me the necessity of making it public. I was then a public functionary, and could no longer preserve silence.* During the two last campaigns in Germany, and since the peace, he has occasionally made remote and circuitous overtures to me as to the possibility of entering into a correspondence with the French princes, but I considered them so ridiculous that I never made any answer. As to the present conspiracy, I can equally assure you that I have not had the smallest share in it. Whatever proposition may have been made to me, I rejected it at once in my own mind, and regarded it as the most absurd of projects."

It was not to be expected that this explanation, and the absence of any other evidence against the writer than that of prisoners who hoped to save their lives by serving the ends of the prosecution, would save

* Moreau communicated the correspondence to Barthélemy at that time.

Moreau, any more than the admission of the prisoner whose disclosures implicated the Duke of Enghien, that he had mistaken Pichégru for the Duke, saved that unfortunate scion of the house of Bourbon. The profound sensation which Moreau's arrest had created, and the sympathy manifested by the army, convinced the First Consul that he had been mistaken in believing that the accusation of treason would suffice to deprive him of his popularity; but he now feared equally his enemy's acquittal and his conviction. Vague rumours of fresh conspiracies, seditious placards posted about Paris during the hours of darkness, anonymous letters of a menacing character, and so numerous as to alarm the authorities, excited in the mind of Buonaparte the most vivid fears that, if Moreau should be condemned to death, the announcement would be the signal for a serious commotion. Fouché had failed to penetrate the secrets of Philadelphianism, and to discover all the hidden ramifications of the plot, and the First Consul felt that he might be standing upon a mine ready to explode beneath his feet. He wished to remove Moreau from the path of his ambition, yet feared that his condemnation to death would occasion an outbreak which it might be difficult to repress, and that the memory of his fate would tend to keep alive in the army that spirit of insubordination which he knew was already far too prevalent.

In his perplexity he sought counsel of Fouché, who, from his relations with the Republican party, was unwilling that Moreau should be sacrificed, while the possibility of the success of the Philadelphians indisposed him to harshness even towards the partisans

of the Bourbons. "I am not of opinion," he said, as he tells us himself, "that Moreau should die, and I do not approve of violent measures at all in this case. It is necessary to temporise; for violence has too great an affinity to weakness, and an act of clemency on your part would produce a better effect than scaffolds." Murat also suggested that Moreau's life should be spared, urging that the leniency of his treatment would reduce him to insignificance. In accordance with this suggestion, Moreau, with Jules Polignac and three others, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment only, while Cadoudal, Lajolais, Armand Polignac, St. Victor, Picot, and eleven others were condemned to death. Having determined to spare Moreau, the First Consul could afford to regard more favourably than he was at first disposed to do the appeals that were made on behalf of the other conspirators. The Polignacs belonged to an aristocratic family that had recovered some of its former influence, and Buonaparte thought it politic not to incur their resentment on the eve of his assumption of the imperial dignity. Armand Polignac and eight others, including Lajolais and Picot, were accordingly respited.

For the same reason, and also because the Chouan leader's indomitable courage inspired him with involuntary admiration, he would even have spared the life of Cadoudal. On the night preceding the execution of the Chouans he sent a confidential agent to the Temple, to offer the prisoners their lives on certain conditions. The officer found them at prayers, and, addressing Cadoudal, told him that he came, empowered by the First Consul, to offer him his life and

a commission in the army, with the lives of all those included in the indictment, on the sole condition of their earning such clemency by an unreserved renunciation of the hopeless cause of the Bourbons.

"That does not concern me alone," said Cadoudal. "Permit me to communicate your proposal to my comrades, that I may receive their opinions of it."

He then repeated the First Consul's message, upon which one of the Chouans, whose name was Burban, rose immediately, and cried, "Vive le roi!" The cry was repeated by all the prisoners, as with one voice.

"You hear!" said Cadoudal, turning to the officer. "We have only one thought and one cry, 'Vive le roi!' Have the goodness to report faithfully what you have heard."

The officer sighed and left the cell, and on the following morning the brave Cadoudal and his associates were executed on the Place de Grêve.

The removal of Moreau from the Temple was effected at night, in order to prevent a popular demonstration in his behalf; but, in avoiding one cause of disquiet, the First Consul encountered another. There was a rumour that he had been assassinated, and the excitement created by it threatened to reach to tumult. "The whole prison," says Caleb Hiller, whose narrative I here quote again, "was one morning thrown into great confusion in consequence of General Moreau having disappeared during the night. Every person in the Temple naturally concluded that he had fallen a sacrifice to the jealous fears of Buonaparte. The news of his departure quickly spread through the city of Paris, and, as Moreau was much beloved by the soldiery,

towards evening the walls of our prison were surrounded by thousands of people vociferating the ex-general's name, with dreadful denunciations of vengeance against his persecutors. During the whole of the next day officers of all ranks were crowding to the gate, demanding to know what had become of General Moreau. Indeed, there were such marked demonstrations of affection exhibited by the troops and citizens, that I am fully convinced Napoleon acted the most politic part in banishing Moreau *secretly* from Paris. The populace would have risen in a body had he been carried off by daylight."

Buonaparte did not venture even to enforce the sentence passed upon Moreau, though so lenient in comparison with that which he had at first meditated. Having obtained his promise to quit France, never to return, he bought of him his estate of Gros Bois, near Paris, and permitted him to leave privately, the expenses of his expatriation being defrayed from the public treasury. Moreau proceeded at once to Cadiz,* from which port he embarked for the United States.

Oudet remained the directing chief of the Philadelphians, whose secret organisation Fouché made great efforts to unravel, with only partial success. He obtained a clue, but was immediately baffled and prevented from following it by the transformation of the Society into the Olympians, who, under the new name, and with new symbols and pass-words, held the same principles and pursued the same objects. Several

* The memoir writers of the period differ as to the Spanish port whence Moreau sailed, some saying Barcelona. I have followed Fouché, who was likely to have been well informed on the point.

of the diplomatic representatives of Britain at Continental Courts were strenuously labouring at this time to excite a Royalist outbreak in France, and the correspondence which arose out of these intrigues was at length detected by Fouché, who immediately set a snare to entrap Drake, the British envoy at Munich, whom he actually decoyed into a direct correspondence with a secret agent of the French police.* The letters were dictated by Buonaparte himself in his own cabinet, and Drake replied to them in the most implicit conviction of their authenticity. It is a curious circumstance that, though Fouché discredits Oudet's connexion with the Philadelphians and Olympians, a passage occurs in one of these letters which indicates that Oudet was the person referred to.

"The chief of whom you desire particulars," wrote Méhée de la Touche, "is a man of a remarkable and distinguished figure, and twenty-eight years of age. His bravery exceeds all praise; he speaks with grace, and writes with talent. The Republicans have such entire confidence in him, that they see, without the least inquietude, his visits to the First Consul when he leaves the army to come to Paris, and pay his court to the ladies who grace the saloons of the Consular Palace. If you desire my personal opinion of him,

* "Méhée de la Touche, the Frenchman who imposed on and betrayed Drake and S. Smith, published a very amusing, though probably very lying, account of the whole transaction. It certainly, as he states it, makes the dupery and terror of our two Ministers equal to his own rascality, and he seems to take pains to make both appear as clear and as notorious as possible. The account is well and clearly written. Hammond, John King, and Drake are very well described, and also Bertrand de Melville, on whom he also imposed most egregiously. This book was lent me by the *greffier*. Unfortunately I lent it to Pitt (when I dined with him), and Pitt never returned it to me."—*Diary of the Earl of Malmesbury.*

it is this: his ambition is unbounded, and he plays with both Republicans and Royalists, using both to gain his own ends. I flatter myself with having gained his confidence. The First Consul does all he can to conciliate him; but there is only one mode of success —to yield up his own place in his favour."

Oudet left Paris as soon as he was assured of the safety of Moreau, and proceeded to the south; and about the time when the Philadelphians were transformed into the Olympians, the Marquis of Jouffroy appears on the scene as the agent of the Bourbon princes in negotiating with the Society for the restoration of the Monarchy. There does not appear, however, to have been at any time a clear and defined understanding between the two parties. Each was endeavouring to make use of the other, the Bourbonists being willing only to use the Olympians as a stepping-stone to power, and the latter resolved to work out their ends in their own way, and, in the event of success, to offer the crown and a constitution to the Count of Provence, making his acceptance of the latter the condition of his being allowed to grasp the former.

It was ascertained at this time that Buonaparte was about to pass through Jura, with an escort of only a hundred Guards, and it was resolved to waylay and capture him, if he were not slain in the affray. A Provisional Government was then to be established, and the Crown of France offered to the Count of Provence, the condition of whose elevation to the throne was to be the establishment of a constitution similar to that of England. A picked force of 180 men was to make the attack, under the direction of a young officer named Bugnet, full of zeal and courage,

and whose valour and conduct had been proved in many hard-fought battles. A secluded spot between the villages of Tasseniene and Colonne was to be the scene of the attack, the success of which would have changed the course of French history, though it would be vain to speculate upon the precise results which would have accrued from it.

The daring scheme was frustrated by Fouché obtaining a clue to the plot at the eleventh hour, in consequence of which the route of the First Consul was changed when he had reached the post-house nearest to the spot where the conspirators awaited him. The Olympians dispersed on finding their plot defeated; but Bugnet was arrested, with two other officers, named Pyrault and Léchanché. No further discovery was made at that time, and the entire organisation of the Olympians never became fully known to Fouché; but so many of the secrets of the Society were learned by him, through the treachery of an officer instructed by him for the purpose, that their designs were rendered abortive. Drake having at the same time completely compromised both himself and the British Government, all his correspondence with Méhée de la Touche was published, by order of Buonaparte, who thus sought to cover his enemies with confusion, and at the same time to show a colourable excuse for the illegal seizure and execution of the Duke of Enghien.

Among those political prisoners who shortly afterwards, on the occasion of Buonaparte's elevation to the imperial dignity, received an amnesty, was General Malet, who was at the same time restored to his rank in the army. In 1805 he was employed in Italy, but

in the following summer he was placed under arrest, and ordered to Paris. The grounds upon which this step was taken never transpired, and historians inform us vaguely that he had engaged in some illegal transactions at Civita Vecchia; but there are good reasons for supposing that he was arrested merely on suspicion of a plot, of which no evidence could be obtained. He was detained, without being brought to trial, for nearly a year, when a military court of inquiry was instituted to investigate the charge against him, whatever it was, and it was determined to retain him in confinement "until the affair should have blown over."* In 1808, when he had been two years in prison, he conceived the bold design of overturning the Government by spreading a false report of the death of Napoleon, who was then in Spain, and corrupting or arresting the chief civil and military authorities of the capital; but the scheme was frustrated by the sudden return of the Emperor, and Malet remained a prisoner in the citadel of Vincennes four years longer.

Moreau in exile, Malet in prison, the fortunes of the Olympians were darkened by a heavy cloud. Oudet was still at liberty, indeed, but Napoleon, though the utmost efforts of the police, civil and military, had failed to connect the Olympian chief with any of the numerous conspiracies against him, feared and hated the Republicans so much that his suspicions continually pursued him. So impervious was the mystery in which the Olympians shrouded their proceedings that Fouché could never be con-

* Alison.

vinced that Oudet was connected with them; but Savary, who perhaps, as chief of the secret police of the army, had grounds for his suspicions which were unknown to the Minister, was so strongly impressed with the idea of danger to the Empire from Oudet, without having any positive evidence, that he resolved to destroy him, with as many more of the Olympians as could be reached. The precise share of the atrocity which must be assigned to Napoleon cannot be determined, but he cannot escape the odium of having at least been accessory after its accomplishment.

Shortly before the battle of Wagram, Oudet was promoted to the command of a brigade, and ordered to organise a supplementary regiment, the officers of which he was allowed to select himself.* Fouché does not mention this seeming favour, though his account of the affair agrees in every other respect with that of the memoir attributed to Nodier. If the latter is authentic, the event proves that Oudet was allowed to select his officers in order that as many as possible of the Olympians might be brought together. However this may be, Oudet's brigade was assigned a position at Wagram in which it suffered terribly, several of the officers being killed, and most of them wounded. Oudet received three lance wounds, and in that condition received orders to pursue the enemy three leagues, and then, leaving his brigade, to repair to head-quarters with all the officers that could be spared from regimental duties. The twilight of a summer night had commenced

* Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes de l'Armée et des Conspirations Militaires.

when the defeated Austrians retreated northward along the roads leading to Bohemia; and it was eleven o'clock, on a moonless night, when Oudet and his officers, returning towards Vienna, were startled by the rattle of musketry close at hand and the whizzing of bullets amongst them. Most of them fell, and another volley from their unseen assailants stretched the remainder upon the road. Twenty-three dead or dying men were found next morning weltering in their blood. Oudet still breathed, but he died on the third day. Fouché hints plainly that the perpetrators of this horrible massacre were the military police under the direction of Savary; but the mystery in which it was shrouded has never been revealed. It created a painful sensation throughout the army, and added another incident to the black chapter which records the death of Pichégru and the execution of the Duke of Enghien.

The surviving leaders of the Olympians, with the exception of Moreau, were all at this time in prison, Malet at Vincennes, Lahorie and Guidal at La Force. But prison doors sometimes open mysteriously to the leaders of secret societies, and in the subtle brain of Malet the abortive project of 1808 was still working. The absence of Napoleon during the disastrous campaign of 1812 afforded even a better opportunity for its execution than that presented by the war in Spain. If he could only escape from prison, he might release Lahorie and Guidal, corrupt or arrest the officers who exercised authority in the name of the Emperor, overthrow the edifice which Napoleon had reared upon the ruins of the Republic, and establish a Provisional Government, pending negotiations with the Count of

Provence. The first blow would give the victory, and Napoleon would be startled amidst the snows of Russia by the announcement of his outlawry by the enemies whom he had been striking down to such little purpose since the days of the Directory.

Such an enterprise might well have been deemed worthy only of being conceived in the brain of a madman; but there was method in it, and it was very near succeeding. Malet took into his confidence a fellow-prisoner, an old priest named Lafon; and succeeded in corrupting a young corporal named Rateau, who guarded his cell. Then the forgeries were executed which were required to smooth the way to the success of the plot. The conspirators prepared a document purporting to be a decree of the Senate, annulling the Imperial Government, appointing a Provisional Government in the persons of Moreau, Talleyrand, Trochot, Prefect of the Seine, and the Counts of Noailles and Montmorenci, and nominating Malet governor of Paris. Fouché, who was again under the cloud of Napoleon's displeasure, and had been succeeded in the Ministry of Police by Savary, was to act in the place of Moreau until the latter could arrive from America; and the command of the troops was to be offered to Massena, who was also in disgrace, and might, it was thought, be induced to join a movement against the Emperor when it had obtained its preliminary success. Several forged warrants for the promotion of certain officers, and orders on the treasury for considerable sums of money, completed the preparations for the projected revolution.

All being prepared, Malet one night walked out of prison, wearing his General's uniform, and proceeded

to the barracks of a regiment of infantry commanded by Colonel Soulier, to whom he showed the forged decree, informing him at the same time that the Emperor had been killed before Moscow on the 7th of October. The signatures to the decree were such excellent imitations of the handwriting of the persons whose names were thus unwarrantably used that Soulier was imposed upon; and, on Malet giving him a warrant appointing him to the command of a brigade and an order on the treasury for four thousand pounds, he offered no opposition when the audacious conspirator ordered the gates to be opened, and the troops to be mustered by torchlight, commanded the drums to beat, and read the decree. Malet then ordered a guard to accompany him to the prison of La Force, where he liberated Lahorie and Guidal.

The troops were then divided into three bodies, and marched into Paris by different routes. One, led by Lahorie, a bold and energetic officer, directed its march to the Ministry of Police, where the General forced the doors, surprised Savary in bed, arrested him, and, after a vain altercation, lodged him safely in La Force. Guidal led another body of troops to the Prefecture, where he arrested Pasquier, Prefect of Police, as easily as his colleague had effected the capture of Savary, and hurried him off to join the Minister. Malet took possession of the Place Vendôme, and detached Soulier to seize the Hotel de Ville, and post a strong force on the Place de Grêve. It was now eight o'clock in the morning, and Trochot, who had ridden into Paris from his country-house, found the Hotel de Ville in the possession of Soulier, who gave him a despatch from Malet, ordering him to

prepare the principal apartment for the sittings of the Provisional Government. The Prefect bowed to the force arrayed against an order of things which seemed to be subverted, and the room was prepared; but the individuals named in the forged decree did not deem the movement ripe enough as yet to be encouraged to assemble there.

Malet had, in the meantime, sent forged orders to the colonels of two regiments, similar to those given to Soulier, whose example was immediately followed. By these means the conspirators obtained possession of all the barriers, which were immediately closed, to prevent any one leaving the city until the success of the movement was assured. Other bodies of troops occupied the principal public offices, including the Treasury and the Bank of France, where there was a large amount of money. While these measures were being taken, Malet proceeded, at the head of fifty men, to the office of the Etat-Major, where he gave Doucet, the Adjutant-General, one of the forged orders which he had found so efficacious in promoting the success of the movement, and directed him to arrest Laborde, the Adjutant of the Commandant of Paris.

Leaving half his guard before the office of the Etat-Major, he proceeded to the house of General Hulin, Commandant of Paris, and showed the forged decree of the Senate. Hulin refused to obey the mandate, and Malet ordered his arrest. The Commandant resisted, and Malet discharged a pistol at his head, and wounded him so severely that he was thought dead. The conspirator then returned to the Adjutant-General's office, and was conversing with Doucet, when Laborde entered, and, having seen him

in prison only the day before, at once denounced him. Malet was about to draw a pistol from the pocket of his coat, when Laborde, seeing the movement reflected in a mirror behind him, seized him, and with the assistance of Doucet disarmed and arrested him. The soldiers, on being informed by Laborde that they had been deceived, raised a cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" and returned to their barracks.

The attempted revolution was now at an end. By nine o'clock Malet, Lahorie and Guidal were again in prison, and Savary and Pasquier were at liberty. A military commission was appointed for the immediate trial of the conspirators, with eleven other persons, regarded as their accomplices. Malet behaved with great firmness during the last hours of his restless and eventful life. He exculpated all his fellow-prisoners, and on being asked by Dejean, the president of the commission, who were his accomplices, replied with startling significance, "All France, if I had succeeded; and you among the first. When men openly attack a Government by force, the palm is theirs, if they succeed; if not, death." Dejean turned pale, and asked no more questions.* Lahorie and Guidal protested that they knew nothing of the conspiracy until they were released from prison; but all the prisoners were condemned to death, and shot on the following morning at Grenelle, Malet preserving his heroism to the last, and warning the authorities that he was "not the last of the Romans."

Fouché says that Malet carried with him to the

* Mémoires de la Duc de Rovigo.

grave "the secret of one of the boldest conspiracies which the grand epoch of the Revolution has bequeathed to history." The precise meaning of this passage can only be conjectured. Fouché may have alluded to the secrets of the Olympians, or to the connexion with the conspiracy of persons against whom no evidence could be obtained. Olympianism was supposed to have disappeared with the victims of the mysterious tragedy of the night after Wagram, and there are no traces of any relations between the imprisoned Olympians and those who remained at large, unsuspected; but it is unlikely that Thibaudeau would have stated that the conspiracy of Malet had ramifications in the provinces, if he had not had substantial grounds for the statement. The complicity of Fouché in the plot was suspected, but no evidence was procurable against him, and the investigation made by order of Napoleon into the whole of the circumstances connected with it resulted in the discovery of nothing that was not already known.

The news of this affair affected Napoleon more than his military disasters in Russia. He set out immediately for Paris, and during the journey was alternately depressed and moody, and irritable and savage. He reached the capital on the night of the 18th of December, so unexpectedly, and at such a late hour, that, on presenting himself at the Tuileries, he experienced some difficulty in gaining admission. On the following day he called for reports on the conspiracy, and convened the Council of State.

"Gentlemen," said he, "we must no longer disbelieve miracles; attend to the report of M. Real on this affair."

The report having been read, he expatiated at considerable length on the evils of the loose ideas of duty prevalent in France, and which he attributed to the Revolution. "At the first word of my death," he continued, "at the first command of an unknown individual, officers lead their regiments to force the gaols, and make prisoners of the highest authorities. A gaoler quietly encloses the Ministers of State within his doors. A Prefect of the capital, at the command of a few soldiers, lends himself to the preparation of his great hall for the assembly of I know not what factious wretches! And all this while the Empress is on the spot, while the King of Rome is living, while all my Ministers and all the great Officers of State are at hand. Is a man, then, everything here? the institutions nothing? oaths nothing?"

No discovery being made, he was fain to content himself with the dismissal of Pasquier, the reprimanding of Trochot, and the suppression of the Municipal Guards of Paris. The prosecution of the war demanded the immediate exercise of all his powers, but even the insensate dreams of conquest which he still indulged cannot have rendered him wholly oblivious, in his hours of repose, of the precarious tenure by which, as Malet's conspiracy had shown him, he held the throne. That extraordinary affair occupies fewer of the pages of Alison and Thiers than many of the military conflicts of the period; but that it nearly cost Napoleon the Empire is acknowledged equally by Savary and by Fouché. But for his recognition by Laborde, Malet, says the former, would "in a few moments have been master

of almost everything; and, in a country so much influenced by the contagion of example, there is no saying where his success would have stopped. He would have had possession of the treasury, then extremely rich, the post-office, the telegraph, and the command of the hundred cohorts of the National Guards. He would soon have learned by the intelligence brought by the *estafettes* the alarming situation of affairs in Russia; and nothing could have prevented him making prisoner the Emperor himself, if he had returned alone, or from marching to meet him if he had come at the head of his Guards."

The Grenelle executions left Moreau, then in the ninth year of his exile, the sole survivor of the Generals affiliated to the secret society projected by Malet and organised by Oudet. It is a singular coincidence, therefore, if it is nothing more, that Moreau should have prepared to return to Europe immediately after that event. After a tour through the United States, he had purchased the estate of Morrisville, below the Falls of the Delaware, where he resided quietly with his family until the spring of 1813. The ostensible and avowed motive of his return to Europe was the offer of a command in the Russian army, which was made to him through Dashkoff, the Russian Minister at Philadelphia. Colonel Rappatel, who had been his *aide*, immediately set out for St. Petersburg, viâ England, and on his arrival wrote to Moreau, who at the end of May quitted his retreat, and embarked on board an American vessel bound for Gothenburg. He arrived at that port on the 26th of July, and proceeded

immediately to Ystadt, whence a Swedish war-brig conveyed him to Stralsund.

Bernadotte, who was then at Berlin, set off for Stralsund to meet him, and concert with him the plan of the campaign about to open; and he was met also by Colonel Rappatel and a gentleman in the civil service of Russia named Svinine. On the night of the 10th of August he reached Berlin, where on the following morning he was visited by all the Prussian princes and generals then in the city. He started in the evening for Prague, where he arrived on the 16th, and was cordially received by the Czar, who two days afterwards introduced him to the Emperor of Austria. Evidence was soon afforded that Olympianism still existed in the French army. The officers of the garrison of Dresden drank his health at their mess, for which they escaped arrest only through the intercession of Berthier. Two officers of the garrison of Dantzig deserted their colours, and joined him at the head-quarters of the allied armies.

Moreau was fated, however, soon to follow Pichégru, and Oudet, and Malet, Lahorie, and Guidal to a bloody grave. On the terrible 27th of August, while conversing with Alexander, he was struck by a cannon-ball, which shattered both his legs. Removed from the field by some Cossacks on a litter formed of their lances, he suffered amputation of both limbs. The suffering consequent on removal with the retreating army to the frontier of Bohemia, borne by Russian soldiers in a litter, amidst torrents of rain, caused fever to supervene, and recovery soon became hopeless. Death released him from suffering on the 2nd

of September, and his remains were removed by the Czar's order to St. Petersburg, where they were interred with the honours which had been accorded to those of Kutusoff.

The sad news of his death was communicated to his wife by an autograph letter from the Czar, whose eulogy of his high character was as unqualified as it seems to have been sincere. The Count of Provence, on hearing of his death, said that he had lost the crown again, and that he had intended to make him Constable of France in the event of his restoration to the throne. But it was well for Moreau's fame, perhaps, that he never linked his fortunes with those of the Bourbons more closely.

The Olympians were avenged when, within a few months after the death of Moreau, the Senate pronounced the deposition of Napoleon, and carried out the programme of Malet by appointing a Provisional Government, with Talleyrand as President; and Fouché became so completely master of the situation that Carnot told Napoleon, on his resumption of the imperial dignity, "You may shoot Fouché to-day, but to-morrow you will cease to reign. The men of the Revolution permit you to retain the throne only on the condition that you respect their liberties."

CHAPTER IV.

THE TUGENDBUND.

DURING the early years of the present century, when nearly all the peoples of the European Continent were trodden under the feet of Napoleon, none suffered greater humiliations, or more severe exactions, than the Germans. The upper classes writhed under the political degradation to which their country was subjected by the conqueror, the merchants and shopkeepers were reduced to poverty by the forced contributions levied by French armies, the peasantry yearly saw their fields laid waste by the operations of contending forces, and their flocks and herds driven off to feed the invaders. These evils they suffered in common with other nations; but in their case there was added the irritating and insulting manner in which they were transferred, at the will of Napoleon, from one ruler to another, as if they were droves of sheep or cattle, and the galling consciousness that their princes were utterly devoid of patriotism, and would, one and all, declare for peace or for war, as France or England offered them the heaviest bribe.

The feelings with which the Germans regarded the domination of Napoleon were aggravated, among the educated sections of the people, by the restraints

which it imposed upon the freedom of speech and the press. The conflict of ideas out of which the Revolution had arisen had been felt in Germany more deeply than in any other country, and its dawn had been hailed with enthusiasm by all who could appreciate the blessings of civil and religious freedom. The principles of the Revolution had prepared the way for the French armies, and the tricolour of the Republic was welcomed by those who had indulged the day-dream of the Illuminati as the sacred standard of the emancipation of humanity from the despotism of kings and priests. But, with the change from the Republic to the Empire, followed as it was by the crushing disasters of Jena and Eylau and Friedland, and the humiliating Treaty of Tilsit, a heavy and ominous cloud settled upon the national mind. The execution of Palm, the arrest of the Prince of Hatzfeld, the insults hurled at the Queen of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick, roused, in a painful degree, feelings which could find no vent; and the imbecility and meanness of the King of Prussia, and the miserably unpatriotic conduct of the minor Sovereigns, increased their bitterness.

Under the influence of the galling humiliation inflicted upon his country by the treaty of Tilsit, by which the greater part of the Prussian dominions was divided between Saxony and Westphalia, Stein, the Prussian Prime Minister, conceived the idea of spreading over Germany a network of secret societies, by the agency of which the people should be prepared for a struggle, when the time should seem opportune, for the liberation of the Fatherland. He saw no hope for the country unless a new spirit could be infused

into the people; no means so sure as that which he contemplated for accomplishing that work. The country was exhausted, the spirit of the people crushed out of them. Resuscitation might be possible, but a more potent charm would have to be devised for the purpose than the poor shadow of liberty which gave only a choice of despots. Stein bethought him of a spell well suited to the constitution of the German mind, and to the national temper at that period. He resolved to make constitutional government and a free press the prize to be won by the expulsion of the French, not doubting that the Sovereigns who owed their independence and the restoration of the old boundaries to the patriotic exertions of the people would cheerfully and ungrudgingly award it.

The nucleus of the Association which Stein devised for this purpose, and which received the name of the Tugendbund, or League of Virtue, was formed during the latter months of 1807. His colleagues, Hardenberg and Scharnhorst; Generals Wittgenstein and Blucher; Jahn, a Professor of the Berlin Gymnasium; and Arndt, the popular author, were amongst the earliest members. The initiations multiplied rapidly, and the League soon numbered in its ranks most of the Councillors of State, many officers of the army, and a considerable number of the professors of literature and science. By the active and zealous exertions of Stein, Hardenberg, and Jahn, its ramifications spread quickly from the Baltic to the Elbe, and all classes were drawn within its influence. A central directorate at Berlin, presided over by Stein, had the supreme control of the movement, and

exercised, through provincial committees, an authority all the more potent for emanating from an unknown source, and which was obeyed as implicitly as the decrees of Emperor or King.

The promises of representative government and a free press which were secretly made to the initiated by leaders of the Tugendbund caused a low murmur of smothered patriotism to rise through all the north of Germany. The youth of Prussia, of Saxony, of Westphalia—students, clerks, artisans—burned with patriotic ardour to earn liberal institutions for their country by the expulsion of the French. It was a dream which their rulers never intended to realise; but it served the exigency of the period. All through 1808 the leaders of the movement were active, and the outposts of the Tugendbund were pushed westward and southward until all Germany was in a ferment of patriotic excitement.

The Society had been in existence little more than a year, however, when its organisation and aims narrowly escaped discovery. One day, towards the close of 1808, Stein, who had dined with a friend, and partaken freely of wine, found, on his return home, a messenger waiting to carry despatches to Berlin, the Government being then carried on at Konigsberg. He wrote hurriedly a despatch to Prince Wittgenstein, and the messenger departed. A few days afterwards it was discovered that the despatches of the Ministers had not reached their destination, the messenger having been waylaid and deprived of them by French troopers. Count Golz, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, heard the news with dismay, for he remembered having written some passages in which Napoleon was

referred to in a manner which he could scarcely fail to resent. Stein admonished him that he had acted unwisely; as for his own despatch, there was nothing in it, he said, which he need mind Napoleon reading. Great was his surprise and consternation, therefore, when he read his despatch in the *Moniteur*, and saw how seriously he had compromised the interests of the Government. He immediately resigned, and was succeeded by Hardenberg; but so little was he impressed with the idea of personal danger from the sentiments which he had expressed to Wittgenstein that he proceeded to Berlin, where he learned that Napoleon had issued a decree, dated from Madrid, December the 16th, in the following terms:—"A certain Stein, who is attempting to create disturbances, is herewith declared the enemy of France; his property is to be placed under sequestration, and his person secured." Stein thereupon left Berlin, and took refuge in Prague, well knowing that Napoleon was quite capable of having him seized by his secret police, and shot in the fosse of the nearest French fortress.

The illegal decree for his arrest was followed by demands from the same quarter for the dismissal of Scharnhorst, who held the Ministry of War, and Grüner, the chief of the Berlin police. Frederick complied, and Grüner, who was an active member of the Tugendbund, followed Stein to the Bohemian capital. The secret police of Savary were at that time spread all over the territories of the Rhenish Confederation, and the League was agitated by suspicion and dismay. Deeming themselves betrayed, the members burned their papers, changed their residences, and

adopted more secret means of communication. The mystery remained unrevealed, however, and Stein, from his retreat in Prague, directed the Society as secretly and as efficiently as if he had been in Berlin. The Bohemian capital was well suited for his purpose, being beyond the reach of Napoleon, and yet near enough to the German frontier for the maintenance of correspondence with the provincial committees.

Hardenberg's connexion with the Tugendbund being unsuspected, the organisation of the movement was still carried on; while Stein, secure from the agents of Savary, corresponded in the interests of the cause with Count Munster, formerly Prime Minister of Hanover, and the ambassador of Britain at the Court of St. Petersburg; and with Arndt, compelled to seek refuge in Russia from Napoleonic persecution. Literary men were the special objects of Buonapartean aversion, tolerated only when they prostituted their talents to the support of his schemes, or the defence of his crimes; and to Prague came Bran, a bookseller of Hamburg, who, ordered by Davoust to be arrested and shot, his sole offence being the translation and publication of a work by the Spanish Minister, Cevallos, owed his life to a mistake of the police, who arrested instead a bookseller named Brand.

Savary, kept to his work by his rancorous and suspicious master, was indefatigable in his exertions to obtain further traces of a movement to which only the faintest clue had been found, to be lost again immediately. His spies penetrated where he could not introduce his armed police. Varnhagen von Ense mentions "a Frenchman who limped about Töplitz for several weeks, and who had been ordered, as he

said, to use the baths for his wounds. He was anxious to make acquaintances, and tried to worm himself into society. Nevertheless he was not liked, and was looked upon as a spy; and so he probably was, for the Duke of Rovigo mentions in his memoirs that he had a spy in Bohemia during that summer. I can only say that if this was the man the Duke of Rovigo was ill-served. No one would receive him. The Austrian officers to whom he wished to attach himself turned him into ridicule; one of them, a certain Baron von Knorr, remarkable for humour and courage, and always ready to use either, made it his business to tease this man, and was incessantly playing all manner of tricks upon him. He once seriously represented to the Frenchman that it had a bad appearance first to limp with the right leg and then with the left; he ought to make up his mind at once as to which foot had been wounded, and in future only to limp with that one, for that he and others were determined to look closely to this, and not to bear any more changing about. The Frenchman was wise enough to take all this banter very well, vowing that it was quite a mistake to suppose that the Germans did not understand a joke. The man was, however, by no means without taste or knowledge, and was not ill-natured; only he did not succeed well in a part for which he was singularly unfit. I do not believe that he did any one a mischief, but I cannot but think that he did little honour to the choice of those who sent him."*

The Austrian declaration of war against France, at

* Sketches of the War of Liberation.

the beginning of 1809, precipitated the conflict for which the Tugendbund was preparing the nation. Though the King of Prussia could not be induced to ally himself with the Kaiser, there were better patriots and bolder spirits among his subjects, and the blood of the whole nation was at boiling point. Katt, an officer in the Prussian service, raised the standard of independence in the valley of the Elbe, and made an attempt to surprise Magdeburg, which was garrisoned by only two companies of French infantry and three of Westphalians. If he had succeeded he would have obtained possession of five hundred cannon, a hundred and twenty thousand muskets, and an immense quantity of ammunition; and his success would have been the signal for the fiery cross to be carried with whirlwind speed from the Elbe to the Baltic and the Rhine. But the enterprise failed, and Katt and his followers narrowly escaped capture.

About three weeks later an abortive insurrection against the rule of Jerome Buonaparte broke out in Hesse; and Colonel Dornberg, ordered to march against the rebels, abandoned the Buonapartean standard, and joined the soldiers of the League. Riding at their head, he led them against Cassel, and encountered the troops of King Jerome. He endeavoured to open a parley, but the attempt was vain; the artillery opened fire upon the insurgents, who immediately fled in confusion, leaving some of their number dead on the field. Dornberg led his broken band into the Hartz Mountains, and waited for the patriotic flame to spread. He waited in vain; only in Berlin was there any response. There the brave Colonel Schill,

an ardent member of the Tugendbund, compromised by papers found by the police in the house of Dornberg, and denounced to the King of Prussia by Jerome, led out his regiment of Hussars, six hundred strong, amidst the plaudits of the people, with the heroic resolve of raising all Germany against Napoleon, or perishing in the attempt.

The audacity of this movement and the enthusiasm which it created in Berlin, and wherever Schill made his appearance, caused Napoleon more uneasiness than the operations of the Austrian army. The Prussian monarch proved subservient enough, however, to disarm his rage; a court of inquiry was held, and a reprimand pronounced upon Schill; the Ministers Lestocq and Tauenzien were arrested and brought to trial on the charge of complicity in Schill's enterprise, but acquitted, there being no evidence to connect them with it.

Schill, in the meanwhile, had moved upon Wittenberg with a force augmented to twelve hundred men, one-fourth of the number having joined him during the night after he rode out of the capital. In Wittenberg there was a large store of arms and ammunition; but the commandant refused to admit Schill, who thereupon led his little army towards Magdeburg. The guns of that fortress menaced him, and he crossed the Elbe in the direction of Dörnitz—by that movement, undoubtedly an error of judgment, missing the opportunity of effecting a junction with Dornberg. Finding himself unable to effect any operation of importance, and threatened by the enemy, he retired upon Stralsund, where he found himself enclosed between the Baltic waves and the bayonets of a

heterogeneous force of French, Dutch, and Danish troops, collected by General Gratien. On the 31st of May the last sparks of the abortive movement of the Tugendbund were quenched in blood by these assailants, who outnumbered the force led by Schill in the proportion of five to one. True to his maxim, "Better an end with terror than terror without an end," he animated his followers to a desperate resistance, and the conflict that ensued in the streets of Stralsund was fierce and sanguinary. Schill fell, fighting to the last, and his head, hacked from his bleeding trunk by a Dutch soldier, was carried away as a trophy.

Eleven officers of this pioneer corps of liberation, members of the leading families of the Prussian aristocracy, were made prisoners and sent to Verdun, having claimed to be treated as prisoners of war. But, as there was peace between Prussia and France, this claim was not admitted, and they were sent to Wesel, to be there tried by a military commission. There could be no doubt as to their fate, which nevertheless excited a thrill of horror throughout Germany when it became known that they had been sentenced to death at noon and shot next morning in the fosse of the citadel. They went to the place of execution singing a patriotic hymn, and died with the fortitude of heroes and martyrs.

Darker now grew the night of the German people, and more than three years elapsed before any signs of the dawn could be descried on the political horizon. The hopes of Austria were crushed at Wagram, and once more the Fatherland was parcelled out by the will of Napoleon, and a million of Germans made to

change their allegiance, like sheep marked with the symbol of a new owner. The Tugendbund alone kept alive the hopes of the people. Stein found it necessary to seek an asylum in Russia, but he still directed the movement from his retreat. Hardenberg, though forced to discountenance it in public, secretly continued to support it. Jahn fostered it with untiring zeal in the Gymnasia. Wittgenstein, who had accepted a command in the Russian army, maintained relations with the League, which he regarded as the only means by which his country could be raised from the slough into which she had been plunged by the incapacity of her rulers either to understand the Revolution or to resist the encroachments of its military spawn. Fichte, the philosopher, imbued the Berliners with his idea of a righteous war, and organised a fund for the widows and orphans of the patriots destined to fall in the battles yet to be fought. Körner, the poet, breathed all his soul into his inspiriting lyrics, which were sung wherever Germans could assemble without fear of the secret police of their oppressor.

The wearily-waited for hour at length arrived. The flames that drove Napoleon from Moscow were the beacon-fires that were to light the Germans to their revenge; the snow-flakes that whitened the road along which he retreated bore each an assurance of victory to the down-trodden people whom he had left fettered in his rear when he marched to the hoped-for accomplishment of his insensate dream of universal domination. Stein, Arndt, and Wittgenstein were in Russia, the last in command of a Russian army, and the provincial committees of the Tugendbund received

from them with daily increasing eagerness intelligence of the progress of the war in that country. They heard, about the middle of November, that the French army was in full retreat, and that their countryman was hurrying towards the Dwina to intercept it; and their hopes rose higher with the news that Victor and Oudinot had fallen back before Wittgenstein, who had followed up his advantage by cutting off Victor's rearguard, and inflicting upon the main body that crushing defeat at the Beresina which completed the ruin of the French army.

Early in 1813, a proclamation, signed by Stein, was secretly circulated by the Tugendbund through the provinces which had been torn from the Prussian kingdom by the Treaty of Tilsit, calling upon the inhabitants to take arms, and throw off the foreign tyrant's yoke. They were read with avidity, and the whole nation burned for the day of uprising, for which Frederick William could not at first be prevailed upon to give the legal sanction of a declaration of war. Stein, Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst did their utmost to emancipate his mind from the selfish reasonings which withheld him from responding to the patriotic ardour of his subjects; but for some time he withstood both the exhortations of his counsellors and the promptings of Alexander, even offering to take the field against Russia if Napoleon would relieve him from pecuniary obligations and restore a portion of the territory of which he had been despoiled. It was only when Napoleon, with characteristic pride and stubbornness, rejected his offer, that he at length, on the 1st of March, formed at Kalisch an alliance with

Alexander, and ventured to declare war against France.

The wild enthusiasm which was immediately manifested throughout Germany is without a parallel in history. The members of the Tugendbund formed volunteer corps, uniformed in black, and swore to liberate their country, or fall in the attempt. Wealthy patriots gave large sums for the provision of clothing, arms, and accoutrements; women despoiled themselves of their ornaments for the same purpose. Iron crosses were distributed to these patriots, bearing the inscription, *We gave gold for iron*, 1813. Jahn and Fichte fanned the patriotic flame with their lectures, Arndt and Körner with their inspiring lyrics.

It was at the close of a day of great excitement in Berlin that Fichte lectured for the last time before the commencement of the war of liberation. The subject was one which the Berliners would have voted dry and didactic if they had not known the lecturer so well, and been so deeply imbued with the spirit of the times. As it was, the hall was crowded, and Fichte was listened to with profound attention, though interrupted at intervals by the tramp of feet in the neighbouring street and the rolling thunder of the martial drum. Gradually he led his hearers from the subject of their private duties to that of the duty which they owed to their country, and grew eloquent as he reminded them of Germany's woes and wrongs. He concluded amidst a burst of applause, and, after pausing to allow it to subside, announced that the lectures would be suspended for the present. "They will be resumed in a free land," he added, "or we

will perish in the attempt to regain our liberties." Then, while the hall echoed with the cheers of his audience, he went forth and enrolled himself as a private in one of the Berlin volunteer corps.

"Germany is up!" Körner wrote to his father on the 10th of March. "The Prussian eagle awakens in all hearts the great hope of Germany—at least Northern Germany—freedom. My muse sighs for her Fatherland; let me be her worthy disciple. Yes, dearest father, I have made up my mind to be a soldier! I am ready to cast away the gifts that Fortune has showered upon me here to win myself a Fatherland, were it with my blood."

The poet hurried from Vienna, where he had been for some time resident, and followed the example of Fichte. Jahn, Steffen, Arndt, the Prince of Karolath, did the same. The intensity and earnestness of the enthusiasm of the volunteers are finely depicted by Körner in a letter to Caroline Pichler, written at the commencement of the war. "We marched," he says, "in parade from Zoblen to Rogau, a Lutheran village, where the church, with great simplicity, but also with great taste, had been decorated for the convention of the volunteers. After singing a hymn of my composition, the clergyman of the parish delivered an address, full of manly vigour and public enthusiasm. Not a dry eye was to be seen in the whole assembly. After the service, he pronounced the oath before us, for the cause of humanity, of the Fatherland, of religion, to spare neither substance nor soul—to conquer or die for the right. We swore! He then fell on his knees, and besought God for a blessing on His champions. It was a moment when the present

thought of death kindled flame in every eye, and awoke heroism in every heart. The oath, solemnly repeated by all, and sworn on the swords of the officers, and Luther's hymn, 'A stronghold is our God,' concluded the ceremony; upon which a thundering cheer burst from the congregation of champions for German freedom, while every blade leaped from its scabbard, and gleams of warlike light shone through the sanctuary. The hour was so much the more impressive that most of us went with the conviction that it was the last time we should ever meet."

Varnhagen von Ense is of opinion that there were too many men fit to be officers in this corps, and that, with a less proportion of princes, philosophers, and poets, it would have done more real service. Richter, however, with a juster perception of the truth, says that "in Lützow's volunteer corps lived the *idea* of the war. The universal enthusiasm elevated itself here to a noble self-consciousness. In the other corps, this and that individual might attain the same high intellectual position that was here the distinction of the whole body; every soldier entered with full sympathy into the dignity of his personal mission, and fought from a clear conviction, not from a blind impulse. Those loose and roving adventurers who, to a certain extent, will always mix themselves up with a volunteer corps were kept in check here by the number of high and noble spirits with whom they found themselves in daily communion. Here, all who glowed with holy revenge against the recklessness of a foreign tyranny—all who, in other parts of Europe, had shown themselves to be animated by a spirit of unyielding animosity to Napoleon's despotism—all

who had learned, under long-conquering banners, to curse the conquests and to despise the conqueror, were gathered together in one knot of many-coloured, but one-hearted, friendship. These men were all penetrated by the conviction that, in the nature of things, no power merely military, no cunning of the most refined despotism, can, in the end, triumph over native freedom of thought and tried force of will. These men looked upon themselves as chosen instruments in the hand of the divine Nemesis, and bound themselves by a solemn oath to do or to die. These men were virtually free while Germany yet lay in chains; and for them the name of *free corps* had a deeper significancy than that of volunteer soldiers. Here the deed of the individual was heralded by the thought that measured inwardly, and rejoiced in the perception of its capability."*

The Berlin volunteers were terribly cut up at Lützen, where Scharnhorst received a mortal wound; and Goethe said to Körner and Arndt, when he met them shortly afterwards at Dresden, "You may shake your chains, but the man [Napoleon] is too strong for you; you will not break them." † But the heroic resolve of the Leaguers was too firm to be shaken by a first defeat, and though the Allies were again defeated at Bautzen, where a disaster was only averted by the indomitable valour of Blucher, a leader of the Tugendbund, their courage rose with the occasion. The Allies retreated in good order, and made a stand at Schweidnitz, in Silesia, being induced to retire

* Geschichte des Deutschen Freiheitskrieges vom 1813.
† Arndt's Erinnerung.

towards the Bohemian frontier, rather than in the direction of Berlin or Warsaw, their proper lines of communication, by the expectation that Austria would join the Alliance. Napoleon being at the same time apprehensive of the consequences of Austria's ultimate decision, and harassed in his communications with the Rhine by the volunteer corps of the Tugendbund, an armistice was signed at Pleswitz on the 4th of June, according to which the French were to retire beyond the Elbe, while negotiations for peace were to be carried on at Prague.

Ten days after the conclusion of the armistice, the volunteer cavalry corps of Major Lützow—immortalised in Körner's stirring poem, "Lützow's Wild Chase"—was attacked at Ketzig, near Zeitz, in Saxony, by a force of three thousand French, commanded by General Fournier, under the pretence that the armistice did not apply to irregulars. Lützow and Körner advanced to parley with Fournier, and represent to him that they relied upon the armistice, when the French General cut down the laureate of the people before he could draw his sword. The Germans charged heroically to the rescue of Lützow and Körner, and succeeded in saving them; but they were overpowered by numbers, the French being six to one, and the greater part of the force fell on the field, or were made prisoners. Körner was borne by the remnant of the corps to the cottage of a peasant, and afterwards to the house of Dr. Windler, at Leipzig, where he remained for some time in a precarious condition. So much excitement was created in Leipzig by this event that only the presence of a large French garrison prevented an

insurrection, and throughout Germany the cry was, "No peace till Körner is avenged!"

On the very day that the skirmish of Ketzig was fought, Austria, already in secret communication with Prussia, Russia, and Britain, concluded a treaty of alliance with those Powers at Reichenbach; and, though the armistice of Pleswitz was prolonged until the 10th of August, in the hope that Napoleon would make the territorial restitutions required of him, the Congress of Prague was dissolved at midnight on that day, and on the following morning Austria formally declared war. The determination of Napoleon to renew the conflict in Saxony was opposed by his Marshals, who recommended him to retire upon the Rhine, in consequence of the popular excitement stimulated by the Tugendbund, which was stirring up all Germany in his rear, and urging the Princes of the Rhenish Confederation to declare against him. The Emperor was obstinate, however, and disposed his forces along the line of the Elbe, stretching from the Bohemian frontier to Hamburg, with his headquarters at Dresden.

On the fourth day after the resumption of hostilities, Blucher crossed the Katzbach, and compelled Macdonald to fall back; but Napoleon, desirous to ravage Berlin, moved against the General of the Tugendbund in great force, and forced him to relinquish his advantage. The Austrians and Russians were now advancing from Bohemia, however, and threatening Dresden, upon which St. Cyr had retreated; and General Walmoden, to whose division the volunteer cavalry of Major Lützow was attached, was operating in the north-west. Napoleon, bent on

punishing the defection of the King of Prussia, ordered Davoust to move from the west, and Oudinot from the south, in order to occupy Berlin; and Lützow's volunteer corps being driven out of Lauenburg at the same time, Walmoden fell back towards Grabow. Oudinot being checked, Davoust hesitated to advance, and, on being attacked and defeated by Walmoden at Vellahn, on the 21st of August, retired into Hamburg. Walmoden's light cavalry then scoured the left bank of the Elbe, and intercepted a despatch from Davoust to the Governor of Magdeburg, announcing that the division of General Pécheux would be sent to reinforce the garrison of that town. Walmoden thereupon left the Mecklenburg *Landwehr* in the neighbourhood of Schwerin to watch the movements of Davoust, marched to Dörnitz, and, crossing the Elbe on a hastily constructed bridge of boats, came up with Pécheux at Görda, and defeated him, capturing all his artillery, and taking eighteen hundred prisoners, including the whole of the rear-guard. The victors then recrossed the Elbe, and again confronted Davoust before he was aware that they had moved.

The balance of victory still oscillated, however, now inclining to the invaders, now to the liberators. While Walmoden held Davoust in check at Hamburg, Napoleon gained a great victory over the Austrians. The advantage did not long remain with the victors, however, for on the 26th Blucher surprised Macdonald on the Katzbach, and inflicted upon him a severe chastisement, while Oudinot was defeated at Gross Beeren, and Ney at Dennewitz.

While the news of these victories was encouraging

the people of Western Germany to chant more enthusiastically than ever the war-songs of their warrior-bards, Körner and Arndt, the former fell in an ambuscade of the enemy, near Gadesbusch. Lützow's *yagers* had waylaid some waggons of ammunition and provisions, intended for the army of Davoust, and dispersed the escort; but in returning to the head-quarters of Walmoden with their spoil, they were fired upon while passing through a wood, and Körner dropped dead from the saddle, shot through the spine. Count Hardenberg, a relative of the Tugendbund statesman of that name, was killed by the same volley. Both were buried on the spot, beneath an old oak, the bark of which was afterwards inscribed with Körner's name. Though the poet's spirit had passed away, the spell of his name remained undissolved. The battle of Göhrde was fought a few days afterwards, and Lützow's cavalry were again in the hottest of the fight, distinguishable everywhere by their black uniform. In charging a square of French infantry, an officer named Berenhorst received a ball in his side. Folding his cloak round him, he cried, "Körner, after thee!" and galloped on until another ball pierced his breast, and he rolled upon the ground a corpse. But Davoust was checkmated, and Napoleon's left was laid open to the advance of Blucher.

Though Napoleon had again compelled that General to recross the Katzbach, and barred the defiles of the Bohemian mountains against the Austrians and Russians, the indomitable General of the Tugendbund advanced as soon as Napoleon left the way open, while he moved against Schwartzenberg, and,

at the end of September, Napoleon, finding himself unable to maintain any longer a combat so unequal, abandoned the right bank of the Elbe, and retreated upon Leipzig. The end was drawing near for which the Tugendbund had so patiently prepared. Volunteer corps harassed the French communications with the Rhine, and rendered Napoleon's position every day more precarious. Popular pressure bore with constantly increasing force upon the Sovereigns of the minor German States, until it became as dangerous for them to adhere to Napoleon as to declare against him. The King of Bavaria joined the Allies; the King of Saxony, surrounded by French troops, remained in unpatriotic irresolution, despite the indignation of his subjects; the King of Westphalia fled from his capital, and his kingdom was declared dissolved.

At the first battle of Leipzig, Blucher held a position on the north of the city, where he defeated Ney with great loss, and drove him across the Partha. It was time then for Napoleon to be gone, for more Russians were coming under Benningsen, and the Swedes under Bernadotte; but he lingered two days longer, in the hope of the enemy committing some blunder which might enable him to retrieve his fast-falling fortunes. In the decisive battle of the 18th of October the Saxon troops refused any longer to fight on his side, and the French were driven into Leipzig with appalling slaughter. Not there, however, could they rest. Germany was henceforth to be to them what Russia had been. Their artillery captured, their ammunition exhausted, they struggled through the darkness of

that terrible night across the narrow bridges of the Elster, with the furious enemy hanging close upon their rear. One of the bridges broke down, the other was prematurely fired by the retreating troops, and hundreds were drowned in crossing the river, prisoners taken by thousands.

The pursuit was entrusted to Blucher's Division and the Cossacks, who from that time harassed the retreating foe without intermission. As they advanced, a Provisional Government was appointed for Western Germany, with Stein, the chief of the Tugendbund, at its head; and when, on the 1st of November, the remnant of the mighty army which Napoleon had led to the invasion of Russia a year before had crossed the Rhine, the administration of the Rhenish provinces was entrusted provisionally to Grüner.

The first part of the programme of the Tugendbund was now accomplished. Germany was free from the heavy and exacting grasp of a foreign foe, and the ancient federation of her princes, dissolved by Napoleon, was restored. Those potentates, great and little, had not evinced much patriotism during the struggle; but the leaders of the Tugendbund, and still less the thousands who constituted the mass of that Society, could not have suspected that the hopes which had animated the people of Germany during the struggle would be dashed to the ground as soon as the Fatherland was liberated from foreign domination. In the flush of their pride and joy, they deemed that their rulers could not meditate the rank ingratitude of refusing to give effect to the second part of the programme of the League by conferring upon their

country representative institutions. To the people, to the Tugendbund more especially, the Sovereigns of Germany owed their thrones; surely then, it was thought, they would not refuse to fulfil the promises which they had allowed to be made in their names.

Stein and Grüner, who were the chief advisers of the King of Prussia during the period immediately following the liberation of the territory, urged upon him the views of the Tugendbund concerning the political future of Germany: but though the realisation of those views would have given him the headship of the Fatherland, he thought far more at that time of absorbing the dominions of the King of Saxony than of the greatness and glory of Germany, or even of the true interests of his own realm and dynasty. So stoutly did he contend for what he regarded as his due share of the spoils of war, that a new war, with Austria, France, and England united against Prussia and Russia, was prevented only by the return of Napoleon from Elba and the flight of Louis XVIII. from Paris. Then the bone of contention was dropped; the King of Prussia, trembling lest his hopes of territorial aggrandisement should be frustrated, hastened to assure his subjects that the promises made to them in his name should be honourably fulfilled; and the Allies again united their forces in order to expel Napoleon from France as an incorrigible disturber of the public peace.

On the final downfall of Napoleon the question of the future constitution of the German Confederation was again discussed. Hardenberg combined the proposition of representative institutions with the old

relations of the sovereign princes to each other: Stein wished to modify those relations by transferring the headship of the Confederation to the King of Prussia, and at the same time to make the Federal Diet a representation of the people, and not merely of the princes. Neither could obtain the endorsement of their propositions. The rights of the people were as completely ignored by the German Sovereigns as they had been by Napoleon; and that potentate never carved out the soil of Germany, transferring the fragments from one prince to another at his will, with greater disregard for the feelings and interests of the people living upon them, than did the diplomatists assembled at Vienna in 1815. There was much wrangling over Saxony, with one-third of which the King of Prussia was at length fain to be content; but he obtained also the Duchy of Lauenburg, which he bartered for Pomerania, which was at first ceded by Sweden to Denmark as compensation to the latter for the loss of Norway. Another slice of Saxony was awarded to England as an addition to the Electorate of Hanover, in exchange for Lauenburg. This profitable political huckstering was much more congenial to the narrow mind and grasping disposition of Frederick William than the ideas of the Tugendbund.

The unity of Germany, as devised by Stein, seemed to require the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine; and this idea was warmly supported by Görres in the *Rhenish Mercury*, and by the Crown Prince of Wurtemburg. Austria and Prussia urged it in the Congress, the former having a design to bestow the provinces on the Archduke Charles, who had lately

married the Princess Henrietta of Nassau; but England and Russia supported France in her opposition, and Austria first, and then Prussia, abandoned it.* With the exception, therefore, of certain reparcellings of territory, the German Confederation was restored in its former limits and constitution.

Stein was greatly disappointed. "My desire for the aggrandisement of Prussia," he wrote to Baron Gagern, "proceeded not from a blind partiality to that State, but from the conviction that Germany is weakened by a system of partition ruinous alike to her national learning and national feelings. . . . It is not for Prussia, but for Germany, that I desire a closer, a firmer internal combination—a wish that will accompany me to the grave. The division of our national strength may be gratifying to some; it can never be so to me." The King of Prussia was animated by no such patriotic aims; he dismissed Stein from his councils a second time, and removed Grüner from the administration of the Rhenish provinces. Stein retired to his estate of Kappenberg, and Grüner received a diplomatic appointment at Berne, where he died.

Having got rid of his ablest and most patriotic advisers, Frederick William entered upon a course of repression, involving the blackest ingratitude and the most shameless disregard of the requirements of honour. Görres was warned to discontinue his demand for representative government, and, on his disregarding the warning, his journal was suppressed.

* Menzel's History of Germany.

All the other liberal newspapers shortly afterwards met the same fate. The professors were admonished to moderate the tone of their discourses, and were successively reduced to submission. Oken and Luden at Jena, and the younger Wieland at Wiemar, continued to speak freely and nobly for a time; but all were at length silenced. The Gymnasia were suppressed, through fear of the influence of Jahn. Freedom had no longer a voice—so hateful was it to the King of Prussia to be reminded of his broken promises.

The five years following the final downfall of Napoleon, instead of being marked by the establishment of free institutions in Germany, as the nation had expected, were a period of political retrogression towards the worst times of absolutism. The organisation of the Tugendbund would have sufficed for a revolt against the native despots, but the popular feeling was restrained by the knowledge that these were but the executors of the decrees of the Holy Alliance. Though the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was ostensibly convened to consider the affairs of France, Stourdza, a Russian Councillor of State, who presided over its sittings, abused his position by denouncing the German universities as hotbeds of revolution; and Kotzebue, a German littérateur in the secret service of Russia, sent to St. Petersburg reports filled with suspicions and invectives against professors and students, authors and journalists. The spirit of the nation writhed under a state of things that recalled so forcibly the domination of Napoleon, to shake off which so much blood had been shed; and the pent-up

feelings that could find no vent by voice or pen prompted to revenge men whose minds had grown morbid by dwelling incessantly upon the nation's wrongs.

Kotzebue fell beneath the knife of Sand, a student of the university of Jena. Ibell, another instrument of Russia, narrowly escaped a similar fate at the hand of Löning. Sand was executed; Löning committed suicide in prison. Though they both denied that they had any accomplices, or were affiliated to the Tugendbund, or any other secret society—and there was no evidence to prove the contrary—their crimes were made the pretext for the persecution of all who were known to entertain liberal opinions. The German Sovereigns assembled at Carlsbad, and their rising was the signal for a reign of terror. The universities were placed under the strictest supervision, and a commission was instituted at Mayence which was really a political Inquisition. Jahn was arrested; Arndt was suspended at Bonn, and Fries at Jena; De Wette, professor of theology at Berlin, was deprived of his chair for writing a letter of condolence to the mother of the student Sand; Oken, the eminent naturalist, threatened with the same severity, took refuge from persecution in Switzerland; Görres, having published a pamphlet reproaching the King of Prussia with the violation of his promises, was forced to adopt the same course. Many of the younger professors and literary men fled from a country which seemed the grave of liberty, and found an asylum in the United States. Hundreds of students were imprisoned.

But the degradation of German royalty was not yet complete. There was a lower depth yet to be reached. It was attained on the day when the national tricolour was declared a symbol of revolution, when the festival which commemorated the liberation of the country was forbidden, and the monument on the field of Leipzig was levelled with the ground.

CHAPTER V.

THE CARBONARI.

THE origin of the remarkable Society whose name appears at the head of this chapter is involved in no small amount of obscurity. The traditions noticed in the Introduction, and which assign it to the actual Charcoal-burners of the Middle Ages, are too misty and intangible for investigation; and the various statements which have received publicity since the Society forced itself upon the attention of the world serve only to show that the writers who have professed to know all about the matter, and some of whom were affiliated to the Society, were themselves ignorant of the circumstances in which it had its origin. Its institution has been ascribed to Queen Caroline of Naples, to an unnamed French officer of the garrison of Capua, to an unknown Neapolitan officer who is said to have brought the system from Spain, to spontaneous generation in the bosom of an association formed for the cultivation of political science. There is no evidence, however, by which either of these antagonistic statements can be supported. They must be regarded as mere guesses, hazarded by their propounders in the absence of knowledge.

Lady Morgan was of opinion that, "in its original

formation there were no mysteries to conceal, no forms to celebrate, no dogma, no secret. The league was that of intellect, of spirits ardent in the cause of liberty and truth." This expression of opinion may be safely ventured upon with regard to every secret society; and we are brought by its enunciation in respect to the Carbonari no nearer to the time, place, and circumstances of the Society's origin, or to the persons by whom it was instituted and organised. Nothing authentic in connexion with the Carbonari can be discovered earlier than 1814, when the first lodges of the Society were opened in the Neapolitan provinces by Maghella, a native of Genoa, who, at the time when Joachim Murat became King of the Two Sicilies, was a subordinate of Saliceti, the Neapolitan Minister of Police.

In estimating the claim of Maghella to be regarded as the founder of Carbonarism we must take into account his character and antecedents. That he was a man of great political foresight and considerable administrative ability there can be no doubt. He had, previously to his appointment at Naples, held a similar office in the Ligurian Republic, and then became acquainted with Murat, who, on the death of Saliceti, appointed him to the vacant post, with a seat in the Council of State. In that new capacity he laboured strenuously and ably in the cause of Italian independence and constitutional government, earnestly endeavouring to detach Murat from the fortunes of Napoleon, and to induce him to proclaim the independence of Italy, and place himself at the head of the movement, which he assured him would be made for that end. The realisation of the project

was at that time feasible. The idea was broached in the Congress of Prague, and was not opposed, the Allies being disposed to welcome every means of resistance to the overgrown power and intolerable domination of Napoleon. The small French garrisons could easily have been expelled, and the success of the national movement at Milan, in 1814, demonstrated the soundness of the grounds on which Maghella based the confidence with which he undertook to raise Lombardy in revolt, and expel Beauharnais.

Murat could not be moved, however, and Maghella's representations were made the means of his ruin. The French party in the Council of State betrayed their trust and sent information to Napoleon of the propositions submitted by Maghella, who was thereupon claimed as a French subject and sent under arrest to Paris. After a vain endeavour to win him to his own interests, Napoleon placed him under the strictest police surveillance; but, towards the end of 1813, he effected his escape in a daring and romantic manner, returned to Naples, and again urged Murat to declare against his imperial brother-in-law, and raise the standard of Italian independence. The star of Napoleon was now so plainly in its declination that Murat, in the hope of preserving his dominions, cast in his lot with the Allies, and assisted in the expulsion of the French from the Peninsula. Having acquired military possession of the Papal territories, he hoped to retain them, and entrusted Maghella with the organisation of the secular government in them.

It was at this time that Maghella, obviously with the view of revolutionising Italy in the interests of

the national independence and constitutional government, under whatever circumstances might arise, introduced the system of Carbonarism. Both the character and the position of Murat precluded reliance upon him, and the Carbonaro organisation was an instrument which could be used to mould to the purposes of its directors, or to overturn, either a Buonaparte or a Bourbon.

Maghella began by proposing a constitution for the kingdom by which the royal power would be limited, and an inducement given to the population of the other Italian States to take part in the contemplated movement. The nobility and the higher classes generally regarded his endeavours with favour, and the names of the first families in the kingdom were among the signatures to the address soliciting from Murat the oft-promised constitution. They saw their ancient privileges disappearing and their revenues diminishing, and they hoped, by means of a Parliament, to transfer a portion of the royal authority to their own order. From this class and from the army, which saw with jealousy and indignation French officers of all ranks employed in great numbers, and often in preference to their own countrymen, the first members of the Carbonari were drawn. The inferior gentry of the provinces, and the rural classes generally, were hostile or indifferent to the Constitution; and it was to remove their prejudices against innovations, and to gain the entire people by degrees to the cause which he had at heart, that Maghella resolved to introduce among them the system of Carbonarism. While Murat was amused with the idea of becoming the sovereign head of the Italian League the upper

classes were attracted by the hope of recovering their waning influence, and the middle and lower grades of society had their patriotism, their devotion, and their pecuniary interests by turns appealed to, as the Carbonaro leaders depicted the future glories of an independent Italy, upheld the imitation of Jesus as the religious object of the Society, and represented a large diminution of taxation as the inevitable result of the political changes which they were working to bring about.

The organisation of the Carbonari was more simple than that of the Illuminati, there being only two grades—Apprentices and Masters. The former consisted of the newly initiated members, who, at the expiration of six months, were admitted to the higher grade. All the initiated were called Good Cousins, and those who did not belong to the Society were termed Pagans. Admission to the lower grade was easily obtained, for, as nothing was trusted to the Apprentices, nothing was risked by multiplying them. The chief object was to secure a numerous and well-organised body of men, ready to obey the commands of invisible superiors, and enter, at a word, upon any enterprise. Those who objected to being initiated in a full lodge were allowed to go through the ceremony before three Grand Masters in private. Freemasons were admitted by ballot, without being subjected to the initiatory ceremonies and probations to which ordinary candidates had to conform.

The interior aspect of a Carbonaro lodge was as plain and unadorned as the meeting-room of the Jacobin Club, as described by Lamartine. No carpet covered the floor, the walls and ceiling were

merely whitewashed, and candles stuck in iron sconces against the walls diffused a dim light through the apartment. With the exception of the officers, who were seated upon plain rush-bottomed chairs, the members sat upon rude benches ranged along the sides of the room, the Masters on the left, and the Apprentices on the right. The Grand Master sat at the upper end, with the lower portion of the unhewn stem of a tree before him to serve as a table. His right hand rested upon the handle of an axe, and before him was a crucifix. On his right and left, behind similar blocks, were seated the Secretary and the Orator, whose business it was to recite the discourses delivered to newly initiated members, after the manner of the Illuminati. At the lower end of the room a Master of the Ceremonies and two assistants were seated, the latter having blocks of timber before them, and being provided with axes, like the Grand Master and his supporters at the upper end. The axes were used for striking upon the blocks to command silence and for making signals. On the block of the Grand Master lay various articles used in the ceremony of initiation. Suspended from the ceiling, at the head of the room, were five triangular transparencies; that over the Grand Master's table containing the initials of the pa. s-words of the second grade, that on the left various Carbonaro symbols, and the three on the right the initials of the sacred words of the first grade, presently to be explained. Over the head of the Grand Master there hung, against the wall, a painting of St. Theobald, represented as a venerable-looking man

seated on a block of timber before a rude hut surrounded by trees.

The candidate for initiation was brought in blindfolded, and when the Secretary had taken down his name, occupation or profession, and residence, he was questioned by the Grand Master as to his knowledge of the duties of humanity and his capacity to perform them. His replies being satisfactory, the Grand Master directed that he should make the first journey; upon which he was led out by the two assistants of the Master of the Ceremonies, and impressed, by the rustling of branches of trees and the simulated howling of wolves, with the idea that he was traversing a forest. On being led back to the presence of the Grand Master, he was informed that the journey he had made was symbolical of the progress of humanity towards virtue. The sounds he had heard, and the obstacles he had encountered, were intended to indicate that virtue can be attained only by perseverance in good works, under the guidance of reason. The Grand Master then directed that he should make the second journey, in which he heard the crackling of flames, and felt their fiery glow upon his countenance as he seemed to be urged through them by his conductors. Then he was again led back to the lodge-room, and informed that the fire through which he had passed was symbolical of the persecutions which virtue has to endure, and of the sacrifices which are necessary to efface from the heart the stains of the seven capital sins.

If the aspirant did not shrink from this preparatory ordeal, and was willing to take the oath of secrecy—

the violation of which he was forewarned would be punished with death—he was made to kneel upon a white linen cloth, in which position, and amidst solemn silence, the oath was administered by the Grand Master.

"I swear upon this steel, the avenging instrument of the perjured," he was made to say, with his right hand resting upon an axe, "scrupulously to keep the secrets of this Society, and neither to write, print, or engrave anything concerning it, without having obtained the permission of the Grand Master. I swear to help my Good Cousins, even with my blood, if necessary, and not to attempt anything against the honour of their families. I consent, if I perjure myself, to have my body cut in pieces, and then burned, and that my ashes may be scattered to the winds, and my name held up to the execration of all the Good Cousins throughout the world. So help me God!"

To which all present responded, "Amen." The aspirant was then commanded to rise, and asked what he wished for, to which, prompted by the assistants, he replied, "Light." The Grand Master then struck the block with his axe, the bandage was removed from the candidate's eyes, and the axes of the assistants gleamed before them.

"These axes," said the Grand Master, "will surely put you to death if you become perjured. On the other hand, they will strike in your defence, should need be, if you remain faithful. In the name of the Great and Divine Grand Master of the Universe, and of St. Theobald, our protector, I declare you a member of the Society of the Carbonari."

He was then instructed in the secrets and symbols of the Society. He was told that the axes were the implements with which the Carbonari pursued their labours in the forests. The tricoloured scarves worn by the Masters expressed the red fire, the blue smoke, and the black charcoal; and were also emblematical of the three cardinal virtues, the black representing *Faith*, the blue *Hope*, the red *Charity*, which were the sacred words of the first grade. The white linen upon which he had been received had been blanched by maceration and labour, as by self-denial and good works humanity is purified and ennobled. Again, as linen envelops us when the natural light first shines upon us, so did it receive the aspirant at the moment of his mental illumination. The crucifix foreshadowed the labours, the persecutions, the death that threaten those who aspire to virtue. It was a memorial also of the death of Christ, the spiritual Grand Master, who willingly suffered death for the salvation of man, and whose example all Good Cousins would endeavour to imitate. There was no pass-word in the first grade; the grip was given by pressing the middle finger upon the right thumb of the Good Cousin saluted.

As among the Illuminati, an initiatory discourse was then delivered, the general tenour of which is probably expressed in one that was found upon one of the conspirators of Macerata in 1817. "Nature," it was set forth in this discourse, "when she created man, intended him to be free. The earliest societies of men, hoping for increased happiness and security, entrusted the command of their forces to one person for their common defence. He, instead of protecting and defending them, became their oppressor. Free-

dom disappeared, and the rights of man were dethroned by despotism. The laws of truth and justice were subverted, and the just and good were persecuted and oppressed. But a few wise and good men, who still cherished in their hearts that morality, the principles of which are immutable and eternal, while they wept over these evils in secret, imparted their principles and views to a few persons worthy of the distinction. Their maxims, transmitted from generation to generation, became the source of that true philosophy which never can be altered or corrupted; and it is in the school founded upon them that men are taught equally to maintain their own rights and to respect those of others. The mysteries of Mithra in Persia, of Isis in Egypt, of Eleusis in Greece, of the temples yet to be built, and the light yet to be diffused, are all so many rays proceeding from the same centre, and moving in an orbit whose field is the immensity of wisdom. Carbonarism is not the last or the least of the various societies that have proceeded from this school. It presents itself without mystery to those who know how to understand it, receives them into its peaceful bosom, and elevates them to the contemplation of Nature, to the love of man collectively, to the hatred of oppression and despotism, to the knowledge of good, and of all that is useful to society and confirmatory of the principles of truth and justice. It teaches in its lodges the true end of existence, and gives rules of conduct for social life. It points out the means for diffusing the light of truth, and of disseminating the principles of political equality. It is to the sacred rights of equality that the Good Cousin must especially attach himself."

There is considerable similarity between the principles set forth in this discourse and those taught in the orations made on like occasions in the lodges of the Illuminati; while the idea of their descent from the early ages of the world, through successive generations of wise and good men, forcibly recalls to the mind the traditions of the Freemasons. It seems probable, indeed, from the exemption from initiation and probation which was accorded to Freemasons who desired to become Carbonari, that Maghella was a Freemason, as the founders of the Illuminati and the Philadelphians are known to have been.

The ceremony of closing a lodge was performed by the Grand Master inquiring the hour, and the Secretary informing him that the sun no longer lighted the forest. The Grand Master then rose, and, announcing that the hour had arrived when the Carbonari rested from their labours, called upon the Good Cousins to perform a triple salutation:—"To the Divine Grand Master of the Universe—to St. Theobald, our patron and protector—to me." This being done, he gave the signal for dispersing in these words:—"I declare our labours ended; retire in peace to your huts in the great forest."

The certificate of affiliation which was furnished to every member was an oblong document, embellished on the margin with Carbonaro symbols, such as axes, faggots, &c., and ran as follows, the blanks being filled up with the date and the name, &c., of the member:—"In the name of the Great and Divine Grand Master of the Universe, and our protector, St. Theobald. Being met together this —— day of —— in the year of true light —— in a strongly illuminated place, far from the eyes of Pagans, —— was duly

initiated and received as a [*here Apprentice or Master was inserted*] Carbonaro in the Lodge of [*here was inserted the name of the locality*]." To this was affixed the names of the officiating Grand Master, Master Adept (or Master of the Ceremonies), Assistants, and Secretary. Above the certificate was a female figure, representing Liberty treading upon a serpent, and holding in her right hand a spear, surmounted by the Phrygian cap, while her left rested upon the Roman fasces and axe. On one side of the certificate were figures emblematic of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and on the other those of Honour, Virtue, and Probity.

After a probation of six months, the Apprentice underwent a new examination in the social duties, and was initiated into the second grade. This second initiation consisted of a dramatic representation of the trial and exposure of Jesus, as recorded in the Gospels. The Apprentice was made to pray, to drink of the cup of bitterness, to wear a white robe, to be crowned with thorns, to hold a reed in his hand, and to bear a cross. Then the Grand Master and the two assistants, who represented Pilate, Caiaphas, and Herod, pardoned him, at the intercession of the assembled Carbonari; and he was made to kneel down on his left knee, with his right hand on the Grand Master's axe, and take the following oath, which is a recapitulation of that of the Apprentices, with additions:— "I promise and swear, before the Grand Master of the Universe, upon my word of honour, and upon this steel, the avenging instrument for the perjured, to keep scrupulously and inviolably the secrets of Carbonarism, and never to talk of those of the Appren-

tices before Pagans, nor those of the Masters before the Apprentices. Also not to initiate any person, nor to establish a lodge, without permission, and in a just and perfect manner; not to write, print, or engrave the secrets; to help, even with my blood, if necessary, the Good Cousins Carbonari, and to attempt nothing against the honour of their families. I consent, if I perjure myself, to have my body cut in pieces, then burned, and the ashes scattered to the wind, that my name may remain in execration with all the Good Cousins Carbonari spread over the face of the earth. So help me God!" He was then girded with the tricoloured scarf, and instructed that the sacred words of the second grade were Honour, Virtue, and Probity, the pass-word *Fern*, and the countersign *Nettle*.

The Grand Lodge of the Carbonari was composed of the more distinguished members and of deputies from the provincial lodges, and was formed in the city of Naples, where it was intended to be permanently established, as affording the most effectual means of concealment. It was the function of the Grand Lodge to grant patents, or charters of organisation, to new lodges, to make new laws and regulations, and to confirm or reject such as were submitted by provincial lodges for its approval. It was also a court of appeal in all disputes between lodges or members, and formed for some time the centre from which radiated all the revolutionary movements of which Italy was the scene. Two registers were kept by the Secretary of the Grand Lodge, called respectively the Golden Book and the Black Book. In the first were registered all the laws and regulations of the Society, the

elections of all the officers, the opening of all new lodges, and the minutes of such debates as were of general interest to the Society. The Black Book was divided into two parts: in the first were inscribed the names, ages, professions or occupations, and residences of all rejected candidates for admission into the Society, with the names of the lodges in which they had been proposed, and the number of votes by which they were rejected; the second part contained the like particulars of every member who had been expelled from the Society for betraying its secrets.

When a Carbonaro was guilty of perjury, a slip of paper bearing his name was burned in the presence of all the members of the lodge to which he belonged, his memory solemnly devoted to general execration, and notice of his expulsion sent to every lodge, where it was affixed to the wall, after being read by the Grand Master to the assembled Good Cousins. Perjury, however, was not the only offence of which the penal code of the Carbonari took cognisance. Habitual association with vicious characters, gambling, drunkenness, abandonment of family, and general dissoluteness of morals, were severally punished by suspension for a period of from two months to a year, according as the offence was aggravated or comparatively venial. Any attempt upon the honour of female relatives of Carbonari was punished by expulsion from the Society; the seduction of female servants of Carbonari by suspension for a term of from twelve months to three years; and adultery by suspension for a period of from two to six years. No other society, with members so widely distributed, ever

sought to detach them so completely from the State by means of a code of laws so distinct in its form, and so much at variance with that in legal force. Its members were even forbidden to refer cases of litigation to the ordinary tribunals until they had been brought before the Grand Lodge, and reasons assigned for permitting a further investigation in a Pagan court.

Such being the constitution and code of this formidable Society, let us now see in what manner, and with what success, its operations were conducted. Next to the nobles and the military, the priests seem at first to have been enrolled in the largest numbers, many of that order being actuated by the same feelings and views as certain of the French and German clergy at a later date, and promulgating, by every means in their power, the principles which Carbonarism was instituted to uphold and advance. Among all classes, however, the affiliations soon increased with astonishing rapidity. In a few months from the opening of the Grand Lodge, the Carbonari numbered more than twenty-five thousand. In some of the towns of Calabria and the Abruzzi, the whole of the adult male inhabitants were initiated.*

The feeling of devotional ardour diffused among the Carbonari, and the circulation of a document purporting to be a Bull of Pius VII. encouraging them, induced a belief that they were protected by that Pontiff; and so convinced was Murat of the truth of the report that one of his first requests, when he met

* Memoirs of the Carbonari.

the Pope at Bologna, was, that he would rescind the obnoxious Bull. Pius assured him that the document was a forgery, and, on his return to Rome, fulminated a Bull against secret societies, including in that category the Freemasons and the Jacobins.

It was clearly the policy of Murat to support the Carbonari, or rather to take away from the Society the reason of its existence by granting the boon of constitutional government; but he hesitated, and the Grand Lodge sent emissaries to Palermo to treat with Ferdinand on such a basis as was submitted to the Count of Provence by the Philadelphians. The Cavaliere de Medici accepted those terms, on behalf of his royal master;* and Bourbonist emissaries visited Calabria and the Abruzzi, where they succeeded by means of promises in the name of Ferdinand, and money furnished for the purpose by Lord William Bentinck,† in inducing some of the Carbonari to raise the standard of revolt, and pronounce for Ferdinand, "the Constitutional King!" These desultory outbreaks were suppressed without bloodshed, however, the leniency of Murat on the occasion proceeding probably from the fear of rousing the resentment of an association already formidable, and to which he might yet be indebted for the maintenance of his throne.

Had Murat possessed the qualities requisite for successful government in the circumstances in which he was placed, he would first have secured the support of the Carbonari by granting a constitution, and then

* Pepe's Narrative of Affairs at Naples in 1820-21.
† Memoirs of the Duke of Otranto.

raised the standard of Italian unity and independence. But he reversed the proper order of action, and by that blunder sacrificed his last chance of retaining the crown. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, he marched upon Rome, forced the Pope to fly, and commenced hostilities against the Austrians by a sudden attack on Cesena. He succeeded in advancing to the Po, seeking by proclamations to rouse the Italians in the cause of national independence; but the Carbonari had read his doom, and his precipitate retreat after the battle of Tolentino was a necessity brought about by their influence as much as by the arms of the Austrians. On the 1st of May, Ferdinand IV. had issued from Palermo a proclamation to the Neapolitans, promising a Constitution, and announcing that "the People will be the Sovereign, and the Monarch only the depositary of the laws which shall be decided by the Constitution." This example was, with fatal tardiness, followed by Murat. On the 13th of May, when he was retreating rapidly before Bianchi and Nugent, he sent to Naples the desired and long-deferred Constitution, dated Rimini, March the 30th—the date of his attack on the Austrians at Cesena—"a tardy and ridiculous acknowledgment of long persisted-in misgovernment," says Maceroni, who adds that if the Constitution had been granted a year before, the throne of Murat would have been safe, inasmuch as a Parliament would have prevented the war.* It was now too late; the proclamation fell dead; and so rapid was the course

* Memoirs of Francis Maceroni.

of events that the Austrians entered Naples on the 22nd, Ferdinand was restored, and Murat forced to fly.

By a secret article of the treaty which had been concluded between Ferdinand and the Emperor of Austria, it was stipulated* that the former should not "introduce into his Government any principles irreconcilable with those adopted by His Imperial Majesty in the government of his Italian provinces." Absolute government was the condition, therefore, upon which Ferdinand held his throne, and his tendencies and affinities were entirely in accordance with that system. Agitated as the South of Italy was at that time by the operations of the Carbonari, the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, under such conditions, could not fail to be the signal for a reign of terror. Maghella was arrested, and hurried off by the Austrians to a fortress in Hungary; and though he was claimed as a subject of Piedmont, under the new territorial arrangements, it was only to be imprisoned twelve months in the fortress of Fenestrelles. He was succeeded in the Ministry of Police by the Prince of Canosa, whose first act of office was the revival, under the name of the Calderari (braziers), of the Association of the Holy Faith, instituted by Cardinal Ruffo, and recruited from the brigands and lazzaroni who had been concerned in the sanguinary scenes of 1799. The members of this horrible association swore to obey the orders of the founder, to defend the Catholic faith, and to exterminate all Jansenists, Molinists, Illuminatists, Freemasons, and Carbonari. Between the

* Colletta, Historia di Napoli.

last-mentioned and the Calderari, therefore, an implacable hatred arose. Disturbances ensued, and the public tranquillity was often endangered by tumults and affrays arising out of the relentless hostility of the rival societies.*

The Prince of Canosa distributed among the Calderari twenty thousand muskets, procured from the State arsenals, or purchased for the purpose, and the lives and property of the inhabitants of Naples were thus placed completely at the mercy of the vilest horde that afflicted any European city. Murders and robberies were of almost daily occurrence, the victims invariably being persons known to hold liberal political views. Two of Canosa's colleagues in the Administration, horrified and disgusted by the outrages perpetrated by the Calderari, urged their suppression; but the Minister openly avowed the policy of protecting and favouring them, as a means of exterminating the Carbonari. The latter took additional precautions for their safety, drew the bands of their union closer, and renewed their oaths of mutual assistance and defence. The terror inspired by the Calderari, the dread of a terrible retaliation by

* "The Prince of Canosa, called to the Ministry of Police, no sooner became possessed of a power which may become as dangerous as it is useful, than he conceived the fatal idea of abandoning the system of moderation which had been so prudently adopted. He granted to the lowest class of the people the right of carrying arms, which had before been strictly prohibited. He armed men who were thirsting for blood, and always ready to enrich themselves with the spoils of the more civilised. But he looked upon the latter as enemies, because they possessed sentiments different from his own. A party man himself, he protected parties. Bands of armed brigands overran the country, giving out that they were the agents of the Minister of Police, and under his special protection."—Count Orloff, *Memoires sur le Royaume de Naples.*

the Carbonari, and the representations of some of his Ministers, at length induced the King to deprive Canosa of his office, and banish him from his dominions.

The Prince left Naples in June, 1816, and Ferdinand, about the same time, gave General Nunziante, the military commandant of Calabria, a secret commission to collect information respecting the numbers and organisation of the Carbonari, with a view to their suppression. Nunziante succeeded in corrupting a member of the Society; but shortly afterwards the corpse of the man was found, pierced with several wounds, and with a paper affixed to it, addressed to the General, warning him to relinquish the undertaking, unless he desired to share the fate of the perjurer and traitor. Nunziante thereupon reported to the King that the means at his disposal were wholly inadequate for the suppression of the Carbonari, whose number in Calabria alone he estimated at between fifty and sixty thousand.

During the period between the restoration throughout Italy of the old *régime* and the revolution of 1820, several secret societies sprung up in different parts of the Peninsula, which, as they all pursued the same object, may be conveniently included in this chapter. The first of these seems to have been the Guelphs, which in 1816 had its Central Council at Bologna, and Provincial Councils at Fermo, Macerata, and Ancona. In the autumn of that year, a deputation from the Central Council had an interview with the officers of the Carbonaro Lodge at Fermo, at which a plan was submitted and approved for the union of all the secret societies in the Papal States, which were divided for

that purpose into three divisions—namely, Bologna, Forli, and Ancona. These were subdivided into primary and secondary centres. Bologna was a primary centre in itself; the Forli division was divided into the primary centres of Forli, Ravenna, and Ferrara; and the Ancona division into those of Ancona, Macerata, and Fermo. Each Society preserved its own constitution and organisation; but each lodge was required to send to the Central Council at Bologna a monthly statement of its members, their names, ages, and rank, profession, or occupation. The Carbonari were admitted without initiation into the lodges of the Guelphs, as the Freemasons were to those of the Carbonari. A system of secret correspondence was invented, by the substitution of certain mystical words for others of real meaning, and was used for the communication of the orders of the Central Council at Bologna to the Divisional Councils at Forli and Ancona, and thence to the officers of the primary and secondary centres.

No connexion can be traced at this time between the Carbonari of Naples and those of the Papal States, which had a distinct organisation. The Grand Lodge of the Roman Carbonari was established at Ancona; the device on their seal was a hand grasping a dagger; and in the initiation of members daggers were substituted for the axes used by the Neapolitan Society. That they were in communication seems probable, however, from the renewed activity of both all through the spring and summer of 1817. It seems, too, from an allusion in the correspondence between Monti, the Grand Master of the Carbonaro Lodge at Ferrara, and Count Fattiboni, to the "grand

dignitaries" of Milan, that either the Carbonari or the Guelphs, or both, had then extended their organisation into Lombardy.

During the spring months of 1817, the lodges of the Guelphs and the Roman Carbonari rang with denunciations of the temporal power of the Pope, with calls to arms, and threats of death against those who should become perjured. The Pope was seriously ill, and his expected death was to be the signal for a revolt, the plan of which had been drawn up by Monti, and approved by the Central Council at Bologna. The movement was to commence at Macerata, where the Guelphs and Carbonari of the district were to assemble in the night, when the barracks were to be attacked, the troops who refused to join them disarmed and confined, the prison broken open, and all the prisoners able to bear arms made to join them. Rockets discharged from the public square of Macerata, and four cauldrons of pitch blazing on the summit of a tower, were to have announced to the other towns of the district the success of the enterprise, and flaming beacons on appointed heights were to have communicated the result to the Central Council at Bologna. The peasantry were to have been drawn into the town on the following morning by the tolling of all the bells, and then the establishment of the Republican form of government, with Count Gallo as consul, was to be solemnly proclaimed.

The recovery of the Pope disconcerted the scheme of the conspirators, but it was not abandoned; and the 24th of June was finally fixed for the enterprise. A proclamation, calling upon the Romans to arm for

the recovery of their ancient liberties, was extensively circulated, and at midnight on the 24th the Guelphs and Carbonari of the district began to assemble within and without the town. The incautious discharge of two muskets at a sentry near the walls, who observed them, gave the alarm to the authorities, and the troops immediately turned out. The contingents of Fermo and Ancona not having arrived, the insurgents deemed it advisable to separate, and reserve the execution of the plot for another occasion. The police lost no time in instituting a strict inquiry into the events of the night, and some of the conspirators were immediately arrested. Owing, however, to the desire of the Papal Government to become acquainted with all the ramifications of the conspiracy, in order to crush future attempts at revolution the more easily, the arrest of the principal persons implicated was delayed until November, when they were seized simultaneously in their respective localities, and confined in the Castle of St. Angelo.

Simultaneously with these movements in the Papal States the project of a revolution in Naples was conceived by the Carbonaro leaders of that kingdom. Gagliardi, the Grand Master of the Salerno lodge, conferred on this subject, in May, with his coadjutors, Ferdinando Arcovito (a relative of the General of that name), Michele Blasiis, and the brothers Abatemarco; and afterwards went into Calabria to confer with Rinaldi, a Carmelite monk, and ascertain how far the Carbonari of that province were prepared for an insurrection. The brothers Abatemarco went to Naples, and had an interview, amidst the ruins of Pompeii, with a leading Carbonaro of the capital, Rosario

Maschiaroli. Circular letters were at the same time despatched to all the lodges throughout the kingdom. These conferences and inquiries resulted in the discovery that the province of Principato Citra alone was sufficiently organised for a rising, and the outbreak was deferred until the provinces should be better prepared.

In the meantime the Carbonari had excited the apprehensions of the Neapolitan Government by an extensive distribution of printed papers, in which they demanded a constitution from the King, and incited the people to refuse payment of all taxes in the event of his refusal. Intonti, who had been an attorney at Foggia, the chief town of the Capitinata, in which province the Carbonari were then most active, was despatched by the Government to that place with unlimited judicial powers, even to the extent of executing suspected persons without trial. Fortunately he preferred milder and more moderate measures, and he did not even acquaint the local authorities with the nature of his commission. Being known to many of the leading Liberals of the district, he invited them to a conference, and represented to them that it was impossible for the King to grant a constitution, as neither the Emperor of Austria, whose troops were still on the frontier, nor the other Powers of the Holy Alliance, would consent to such a measure. It was supposed to be owing to Intonti's moderate and pacific measures that tranquillity was preserved, both the projected revolt and the reasons for its postponement remaining a profound secret.

In Calabria and the Abruzzi, however, three new associations of a secret nature appeared at this time

as offshoots from Carbonarism—namely, the Philadelphians, the Reformed European Patriots, and the Decisi. The organisation of the two former Societies was military. The Philadelphians were divided into *camps* of from three to four hundred men, the Reformed European Patriots into *squadrons*, each containing from forty to sixty members. There were no fewer than a hundred and seventeen camps and squadrons of these two Societies in the district of Lecce alone. Their meetings were held by night, in solitary houses or suppressed and deserted monasteries, which were carefully guarded by sentries; and there, too, they were drilled until, growing bolder by degrees, they performed their military exercises and evolutions by daylight and in the open air. The seal used by both these Societies bore the figure of Liberty holding the Phrygian cap on a pike, and leaning upon the Roman fasces and axe. The Reformed European Patriots had also a second seal, with the device of a sun enclosed within two triangles.

The Decisi, or Decided, were less numerous, but their desperate and fanatical character inspired with terror all who were brought into collision with them. Their *decisions*, as their local affiliated Societies were termed, embraced men who had been expelled from the Carbonari for their crimes, and those who were pursued with unrelenting vigour by the Government, and could find safety only in uniting themselves to others of equally desperate fortunes. The symbols which appear upon their patents and their certificates of affiliation—lightning darting from a cloud and striking a crown and a mitre; the Phrygian cap upon

a skull, between two axes; a skull and cross-bones—sufficiently characterise this terrible Association, whose members maintained themselves by plundering the houses of those who were obnoxious to them, and used the dagger and the torch to avenge their wrongs upon their enemies. Among their officers was a Registrar of the Dead, and a register of the names and conditions of their victims is said to have actually been kept.*

Emboldened by their numbers and the apathy of the local authorities, these three Societies began, towards the close of 1817, to send out armed bands to wreak their vengeance upon their enemies, and plunder their houses. Some of the less wealthy proprietors, and even of the inferior nobility, secretly aided and abetted them, actuated by the double motive of hatred of the Government and the desire of preserving their own property. As the superior nobility and the opulent proprietors were regarded by the Government with distrust, these were exposed to plunder and outrage equally from the secret societies and the bands of ruffians organised by General Pastori, commandant of Calabria, and the Marquis of Predicatelli, intendant of Lecce, in accordance with the example of the Prince of Canosa and the Calderari. The condition of Calabria was thus rendered most deplorable. At the beginning of 1818, when the number of persons affiliated to these three Societies was estimated at twenty thousand, robberies were daily committed by armed bands, and assassination was a crime of frequent perpetration. The

* Memoirs of the Carbonari.

authorities were powerless, even when they were not timid or corrupt; for the secret societies had many members among the military and the police, and neither force could at all times be relied upon for the performance of its duty.

The evil at length increased to such an extent that the Government, roused to the imperative necessity of doing something, dismissed Pastori and Predicatelli, and replaced the former by an Englishman, General Church, to whom power was given to raise a Foreign Legion, and act with vigour against the armed bands of the secret societies. The new commandant divided his force, composed chiefly of Germans, Swiss, and Albanians, into three columns, which scoured the country in all directions, gradually narrowing the circle of their operations until the insurgent bands were surrounded in and around the towns of Grottaglia, Santo Marzano, and Francavilla. Their numbers lessened, as some were shot down by their pursuers, and others found means to return to their homes; but a remnant still held together under a bold and able leader, Ciro Annichiarico, a priest, who had been condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment for murder, but had escaped from prison after undergoing four years' confinement, and was a member of both the Decisi and the Reformed European Patriots.

On finding themselves between their pursuers and the sea, the desperate band turned at Santo Marzano, and attacked a detachment of the Foreign Legion; but was repulsed, and compelled to fly into the intricacies of the eastern spur of the Apennines. There they took up a strong position, and twice

repulsed the company of Captain Montori; but at length they were again put to flight, and five of the band, being captured, were executed at Francavilla. The black flag of the band also fell into the hands of Captain Montori, and was presented to the King. The execution of the prisoners provoked a tumult at Francavilla, which was not suppressed without bloodshed; and at Santo Marzano the militia refused to co-operate with the Legion until General Church threatened to give the town up to pillage. Hunted from place to place, Annichiarico, with the remnant of his band, at last took refuge in a farmhouse ten miles from Francavilla, where, after a desperate and protracted resistance, he surrendered to Major Bianchi. He was executed at Francavilla in the presence of all the inhabitants, who preserved a gloomy silence, and evidently accorded him their sympathy. Ten more of the band were executed at the same place on the following day; and a military commission, presided over by General Church, afterwards tried two hundred and twenty-seven persons, nearly half of whom, being convicted of murder or robbery with violence, were executed, and their severed heads exposed before the churches.

The conspirators of Macerata were not brought to trial until October, 1818, when Count Gallo, an advocate named Castellano, a merchant named Papis, an ex-gendarme named Rivas, and a soldier named Casletti, were condemned to death; and Count Fattiboni, a notary named Sampaolesi, and Cottoloni, the Carbonaro secretary at Macerata, to imprisonment for life. These sentences were commuted by Pius VII., however, into imprisonment for life and for ten years,

the accused being likewise condemned to pay the costs of the judicial proceedings.

It appears from the report of these proceedings, published by order of the Papal Government, that all the secret societies of Italy were supposed to be derived from Freemasonry. "We had become fully acquainted," says the report, "with the Masonic sect during past calamities, which owe their origin to it. That of the Carbonari was called forth just as those calamities were about to cease, as if to increase and perpetuate them. It had its origin and principal seat at Naples, whence it spread into some provinces of the Papal States; and its inauspicious influence had been particularly felt in the Marches. While, in the midst of general peace, this Society was making progress in several cities of Dalmatia, other secret associations, no less audacious, established themselves. The Guelphs extended themselves into Lombardy from the northern provinces of the States of the Church; the Republican Brother Protectors, of French and Lombard origin, insinuated themselves into some parts of the Marches; the Adelphi lurked in great secrecy throughout Piedmont; and, lastly, the Society of the Black Pin attempted to introduce itself into Italy from France. These different denominations, which succeeded each other, were artfully continued, not only for the purpose of deepening their secrecy, but to enable their chiefs, whenever it suited their purpose, to get rid of such members as change of times or circumstances had rendered obnoxious to suspicion. They also served to inform all the initiated at once of whatever was going on in the way of innovation or reform, and to keep them in constant activity, in order that they

might be ready and ardent to support, on the first opportunity, a political change agreeable to their wishes. In fact, the adherence of any individual to one of the secret societies suffices to ensure his reception, with a corresponding rank, into all those that may be formed afterwards, so that one sect is always merging in another while procuring new proselytes. That they are all, however, no other than so many ramifications of Masonry, some of the best informed sectaries themselves allow; and none of them differ essentially as to the object which they have in view—namely, independence and constitutional government."

During the two years following the abortive conspiracy of Macerata and the commission of Intonti in the Capitinata, the Carbonari were active throughout the whole of the Peninsula, and by the spring of 1820 their lodges were established in all the cities of Lombardy and Piedmont, as well as in the kingdom of Naples and the dominions of the Pope. The Spanish revolution raised their enthusiasm to the highest degree of fervour, and measures were immediately taken for revolutionising the principal of the States into which Italy was unhappily divided. Conferences were held at Naples in March and April, at which it was resolved to concentrate a large force on the capital, seize the King and his family, and hold them as hostages until Ferdinand consented to grant a constitution similar to that which had been wrung from his namesake of Spain. Little resistance was anticipated from the army, in which the Carbonari counted between two and three thousand members of all ranks,

including a troop of dragoons and a battery of the Queen's regiment of artillery.

In order to be assured of the support of the provinces, Gagliardi went to Aversa, and had a conference with Acerbo, a captain of the Queen's dragoons, and Forfanti, a captain of militia, both of whom embraced the proposition with the utmost ardour. Bologna, a zealous and intrepid lieutenant of dragoons, visited Nocera and Salerno, and received the assurance that the Carbonari of these towns would march upon the capital whenever they received the orders of the Grand Lodge. During May the greatest activity prevailed among the Carbonari, and frequent meetings were held at Gagliardi's lodgings in Naples. On the 23rd a final consultation was held at the house of one Padula, a member of the Society, when a committee of seven was appointed to arrange the mode of action; and on the following day the committee met at Gagliardi's lodgings, and fixed the rising for the night of the 29th. Unfortunately, however, for their immediate success, a newly initiated member, who had been present at the meeting of the 23rd, revealed the plot to the police, and on the night of the 26th nineteen of the conspirators, including Bologna, were arrested. Gagliardi and some others, those who were most deeply implicated, fled on learning the arrest of their associates, owing their escape, however, to the circumstance of their names having escaped the memory of the man who betrayed them.

The conspirators now made Nocera their headquarters, and fixed the night of the 10th of June for the execution of their enterprise. Gagliardi had a

conference with Menechini, a priest, and Morelli and Silvati, lieutenants of a cavalry regiment stationed at Nola, all able and active members of the Society; and these accompanied him to Aversa, where they conferred with Acerbo, and other officers of the Queen's dragoons. Circular letters were sent to all the lodges, to prepare them for the movement; and Morelli went to Naples to make the final arrangements there.* It had been a great point with the conspirators to secure the leadership of a General, and General Arcovito had at one time been expected to put himself at their head. They were now hoping for the adhesion of General Vairo, and their disappointment in that respect was the cause, or one of the causes, of the further postponement of their enterprise until the 1st of July.

General Pepe, in whom Ferdinand and his Ministers had unbounded confidence, was a Carbonaro, but had been careful not to commit himself prematurely, on the principle laid down by him in his memoirs, that "a man who finds himself at the head of a party ought carefully to avoid exposing his life in every passing skirmish." He held himself always prepared, however, and he was at this time in communication with Morelli and Silvati, but waiting until the success of the movement was assured. On the 1st of July the troop of cavalry in which Morelli and Salvati held commissions left Nola, and was joined at Monteforte by Menechini, who there raised the standard of revolt, with the cry of "God, the King, and the Constitution!" The National Guards fraternised with the

* Cenno Storico sui Fatti che hanno proceduto e prodotto il Movimento del Battaglione Sacro di Nola.

dragoons, and they marched to Avellino, where the local militia joined them; and the Constitution was proclaimed amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. The news of this movement created the utmost consternation in the minds of Ferdinand and his Ministers. General Campana was despatched immediately to Salerno, upon which the insurgents were said to be marching; and General Carascosas followed with all the troops that could be collected. As soon, however, as the troops saw the symbols of the Carbonari on the flags of the insurgents, it became evident that they could not be depended upon, and they were led back to the capital.

There the Court and its supporters were smitten with confusion and dismay, while the greater part of the inhabitants received the news of the revolt with the utmost enthusiasm. A numerous deputation of officers waited upon General Pepe, and besought him to head the movement for the Constitution, assuring him of the support of the entire army. The General consented, put himself at the head of a cavalry regiment which had already pronounced for the Constitution, and set out for Avellino, where he was received with enthusiasm and voted Generalissimo by acclamation. Naples continued in a state of ferment and disorder from the 2nd till the 6th, the entire military force declaring for the Constitution, crowds surrounding the royal palace vociferously demanding it, and the municipality and the professors of the university urging the King to yield to the popular voice. On the 6th Ferdinand executed a secret convention with Pepe, and resigned the functions of sovereignty to his son, the Duke of Calabria, as Vicar-General of

the kingdom; and the Duke issued a proclamation conceding, with certain reservations, a Constitution similar to that which had been promulgated in Spain.

The uncertain attitude of the King and the reservations of the Duke of Calabria inspired uneasiness and dissatisfaction; and this feeling was not appeased by Ferdinand's ratification of the Duke's undertaking, with the reservation of such modifications of the Spanish Constitution as might be made by a legally convoked assembly of the people's representatives. On the following day, however, the Duke accepted the Constitution unconditionally, and on the 9th General Pepe returned to Naples at the head of the troops, the National Guards, and the armed Carbonari; and the King swore, in the presence of all the chief civil and military authorities of the kingdom, to maintain the new order of things. All authority immediately passed into the hands of the Carbonari. The Ministers resigned, and were succeeded by ardent Liberals. General Pepe replaced the Austrian General, Nugent, in the command of the army. A Carbonaro guard was organised, and was of great service in maintaining order, which was seriously menaced on more than one occasion. These changes gave general satisfaction, which the inhabitants of Naples testified by great rejoicings and a general illumination.

Menechini became the most popular and influential man in the kingdom. Songs in his praise were sung in the streets, and his lithographed portrait was sold by thousands. His popularity enabled him to interpose with success, on more than one occasion, on behalf of the King and the ex-Ministers, whose con-

duct was regarded with suspicion. When several persons were killed in an affray which was supposed to have been instigated by the Court, and a furious mob threatened the palace, Menechini calmed the rising storm. Again, when the Carbonari menaced the ex-Ministers, Medici and Tommasi, on the Field of Mars, it was he who disarmed their resentment. His influence declined rapidly, however, and he retired to Messina. General Pepe was shortly afterwards superseded by General Colletta, on the ground of his having, when sent to restore order at Palermo, encouraged the Separatist party in Sicily to hope that their demand would be conceded.

Though the intervention of Austria was to have been calculated upon from the first, and it was the more important therefore that the Carbonari, who had had the entire direction of the revolution, should be united, it soon became evident that there were two parties in the Society, differing as to the ulterior results to be obtained. The majority considered that their mission was accomplished when the Constitution was proclaimed; but there was an energetic minority desirous of establishing a Republic. Tumults and dissensions agitated the Basilicata throughout July and August, and the Republicans threatened to march upon the capital. The cry of imbecility and treason was raised against the Constitutional party, and the Republicans sent emissaries to Naples to excite the Carbonari against the Government. They were unsuccessful, and Paladini, Vecchiarelli, and Maenza—the leaders of the ultras of the capital—believing their strength to be in the provinces, visited Salerno on the 2nd of September, and Avellino on the

5th, to concert a Republican rising; and, returning to Naples on the night of the 6th, were immediately arrested. They had destroyed their papers, and consequently, after an imprisonment of more than two months in the Castle of St. Elmo, they were discharged for want of evidence to criminate them.

These differences had probably some influence on the question which at this time agitated the lodges of Principato Citra, as to whether they should continue their connexion with the Grand Lodge at Naples. A committee was appointed to consider the question, and it was decided that delegates should be sent to the Grand Lodge to demand a more extensive representation of the provincial lodges; and that, if this was not acceded to, they should negotiate with other districts for the election of a provincial Grand Lodge. The latter course was ultimately adopted, and the provincial Grand Lodge fixed at Salerno.

During the autumn robberies with violence were so frequent in Naples, notwithstanding all the exertions of the Government to prevent disorder, that Ricciardi, the new Minister of Justice, proposed to the Parliament which had been elected under the Constitution to suspend the guarantee for the liberty of the subject; and, as the enemies of the Constitution attributed these offences to the Carbonari, a proclamation was issued, calling upon all members of the Society to aid, with all their might, in the maintenance of order and the repression of crime.

"Your country, your honour," they were reminded, "demand from you not regret alone, but exertion and energy; and the Assembly invites you to employ them. Let robbers, and those who commit excesses

in the public ways, be incessantly watched and arrested by such of you as belong to the public force, and let your calumniators know that you do not approve of crime, but eradicate it wherever it is found. Be careful, however, to preserve the strictest order among yourselves when you oppose disorder; the slightest inattention, the most trifling want of discipline, the least opposition to the public authorities, may destroy the merit of the good intentions you may have, and bring upon you blame instead of honour. Above all, let there be no distinction of persons when it is your business to unite for the repression of excesses. Fraternal love places all the Good Cousins on the same level."

Austrian troops were at this time concentrated on the frontier, and the partisans of absolutism were using every means to discredit the Carbonari, and thus smooth the way to a counter-revolution. One of these was the circulation of the Bull which the Pope had fulminated against secret societies in 1814, the effect of which the Grand Lodge of Salerno endeavoured to counteract by the issue of a notice, stating that the Grand Master, "being informed that some superstitious fanatics, in order to discourage the Good Cousins, and to prevent the increase of their numbers, are circulating old Bulls of excommunication and other follies, disgraceful to an enlightened age, declares that such things should be regarded with contempt, especially as these Bulls are wicked fabrications of a party hostile to the country. It is, nevertheless, necessary to keep an eye upon such fanatics, towards whom the vigilance recommended in our second article shall be directed."

As the Bull was a hard fact, however, the Grand Lodge addressed a remonstrance to the Pope on the subject, in the hope of procuring the withdrawal of the document. This memorial was a very able and temperate production.

"Every society," it set forth, "has its liturgy. That of the Carbonari breathes only the religion of Jesus Christ. The cross, the sign of our religion, forms a principal symbol of its rites. Faith, Hope, and Charity, the distinctive signs of the Catholic Church, according to the Apostle St. Paul, form the language which distinguishes the Society, and by means of which it communicates. The conduct which is inculcated in the initiation of the Carbonari is precisely the practice of the morality of the Gospel. The greatest among the precepts of this divine morality, that of universal charity, not only binds them together, but obliges them to practise it, even towards those who do not belong to the Society. It is true that the Society has a political object; but this is not in the slightest degree contrary to the maxims of religion. It preserves that respect for sovereignty which the Apostle requires from Christians—it loves the Sovereign, it preserves the State, and even the principle of hereditary succession; but it supports Democracy, which, instead of attacking Monarchy, forms that happy addition to it which endears it more to the nation, and which alone can render the rights of the Sovereign and those of the citizen less fluctuating, and which therefore prevents political disorders by constitutional means, and consolidates the true basis of national felicity, a felicity

to which the Christian religion directly leads those nations whose glory it is to profess it.

"Such, most blessed Father, is the state, the object, and the secret of the Society of the Carbonari. Far from that secret, now no longer such, be every suspicion as to its dogmas or morals. If it separates itself from the public, if it holds its meetings apart, if it has its peculiar rites, it is because all this is necessary to preserve the spirit that distinguishes it. Man is, in a manner, subject to the senses. Truth, veiled in rites which are its symbols, insinuates itself more deeply into the mind; and a ceremony which inspires the newly initiated with a sacred awe, is warranted even by that once imposed upon the proselytes of the Church. The rite which is still preserved in the administration of baptism is respected because it is figurative, although it does not correspond with the actual condition of the infant Christian. But the ceremonies of the Society of the Carbonari are in nowise opposed to the profession of the Catholic and Apostolic religion, which its members jealously maintain."

After arguing that nothing adverse to the Society was to be inferred from the conduct of individual members, any more than the conduct of individual priests could be held to affect the character of the Church, the remonstrance proceeded as follows:—

"The Society of the Carbonari, therefore, professing the dictates of the Church of Jesus Christ, the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion, whose visible head it acknowledges in your Holiness—practising a moral discipline entirely modelled on the precepts of the Gospel—no longer having a secret which leaves

room for suspicion, now that it has revealed its great object, and the Sovereign has adopted it with sincerity—using a ceremonial whose symbols are only figurative of that which has been executed with so much applause; your Holiness neither has, nor can have, reason to suspect this Society, either as to religion or morals, on which account it is time now that your mind is disabused, freed from those suspicions which provoked against the Society the thunders of the Vatican, that you cease to class it among equivocal secret societies, rendered public and general as it is in this kingdom under the auspices of our most religious Sovereign, and of his most pious Vicar-General, the hereditary Prince Francis; and, consequently, that you declare it free from the spiritual penalties which you pronounced against it by your Bull of the year 1815, when neither its disposition, profession, nor object were known."

The appeal to the Pope was unsuccessful, and the Grand Lodge consulted the Carbonaro priests as to the means of combating the Bull, which were found in the argument that the Papal edicts had always been held to require the *exequator* of the King to render them valid in the kingdom of Naples, and that the royal authorisation had not been given in that instance, Murat having then been on the throne, and more desirous of the support of the Carbonari than of the goodwill of the Pope. Troyse, the Minister of Worship, seeing a possible danger in this view of the case, issued a circular to the superior clergy throughout the kingdom, arguing that the Carbonari were no longer a secret society, and that the Bull no longer applied to them.

"It is time," said the Minister, "to abjure the errors into which we had fallen with regard to these societies, whose object is no longer a mystery, because they are so widely extended that no class of citizens can now be ignorant of the purposes of their meetings. They laboured to obtain that Constitution which has been solemnly acknowledged and sworn to by his Majesty—that Constitution which, by its Twelfth Article, acknowledges no other religion than that of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, professed by our fathers, and which shall always be ours. Is it not, then, wilfully diminishing the respect due to the Holy See, when we attribute to it power in matters merely political and completely foreign to its province? All mystery being now laid aside, and the object of the Carbonari openly avowed, the Society is no longer subject to the Bulls in any way, but is amenable only to the laws of the realm."

The success with which the efforts of the Carbonari had been crowned in the kingdom of Naples had, in the meantime, caused a thrill of hope to pervade the hearts of the patriots throughout the Peninsula, and produced a corresponding uneasiness at Vienna. Several assassinations in the Romagna were attributed to the Carbonari, who, with the kindred societies of the Guelphs and the Adelphi, were supposed to be plotting unlimited mischief in Lombardy and Piedmont. The Emperor of Austria accordingly, in the month of August, promulgated a decree denouncing Carbonarism as a conspiracy for the subversion and destruction of all governments, and menacing all the initiated with the pains and penalties of treason—namely, death and confiscation. All persons aware of

the existence of Carbonaro lodges, and neglecting to denounce them to the police, were declared accomplices in the treason, and as such liable, on conviction, to imprisonment for life.

The Emperor, or Prince Metternich, was not content with this warning to the patriots of Lombardy and Venetia. He and his royal brother of Prussia, who was equally uneasy on account of the agitation promoted by the Tugendbund, joined in an earnest appeal to the Czar to meet them, that they might deliberate upon the impending danger to autocratic rule. The three Sovereigns of the Holy Alliance met at Troppau in the autumn, and pledged themselves to support each other in any emergency that might be created by the secretly-working enemies whom they so much dreaded. The Neapolitan revolution was the chief subject of their deliberations, which resulted in a resolution to enforce the secret compact between Ferdinand and the Emperor, on the plea that "the Sovereigns of the Holy Alliance exercised an incontestable right in taking common measures of security against States which the overthrow of authority by revolt placed in a hostile attitude towards every legitimate Government." This pretension was too outrageous even for Lord Castlereagh, who expressed his dissent from it in a circular despatch addressed by him to the representatives of Britain at all the European Courts; but with this protest the British Government was content, and the Holy Alliance was left at liberty to deal with Italy as the interests of autocracy might seem to require.

The system of espionage maintained by the Austrian Government in the Italian provinces of the Empire

caused the existence of Carbonaro lodges in Lombardy to be suspected very soon after they were opened. No traces of their existence can be found earlier than the spring of 1820, when Count Laderchi and Pietro Maroncelli, a poet of rising fame, and a most amiable man, were sent into Lombardy by the Grand Lodge of Ancona, for the purpose of disseminating the system in that province. Once introduced, it spread rapidly; all the active intellect of Lombardy was soon embraced in it. The talented Silvio Pellico, whose pathetic narrative of his persecutions and sufferings afterwards won for him the sympathy of the world—Count Confalionieri, a member of a family illustrious in the annals of Milan, a man of immense intellect and dauntless courage, and a zealous promoter of popular education—Count Porro, remarkable for his zeal and liberality in promoting the cultivation of literature and the arts—Gioja, one of the most profound thinkers amongst the literary men of Italy, and the author of several works on political economy —Pecchio, a man of similar pursuits and mental calibre—Scalvini, the translator of Goethe—were amongst the earliest of the initiated.

Simultaneously with the introduction of Carbonarism into the Austrian provinces, the secret society of the Italian Federati was formed, and, as well as that of the Adelphi, was connected with the Carbonari on a plan similar to that which bound the Guelphs with the original Society in the Papal States. The objects of all these societies were the same, and measures were taken during the autumn of 1820 to concert a combined plan of action throughout Northern and Central Italy. With a view to this end, Confalionieri went

to Florence, and Pecchio to Turin; and an arrangement was made for the union of Piedmont with Lombardy and Venetia, and a federal union with the States of the centre and the south, when the revolution should be accomplished and the Austrians expelled.

In the meantime, the mental vision of the leaders was turned anxiously towards the south, where events were not progressing so favourably for the cause of liberty as had been hoped. Though the Spanish Constitution had been accepted by the Duke of Calabria, in the name of the King, unconditionally, the Ministers deemed it advisable to submit it to the Parliament; and certain modifications relative to religion being made, against which Cardinal Ruffo and twenty-two dignitaries of the Church vehemently protested, the royal veto was pronounced. Naples thereupon again became a scene of excitement and disorder. On the 15th of January, a mob of several hundreds of men invaded the hall of the Assembly, and took possession of the tribunes, from which their leaders demanded the arrest of Cardinal Ruffo, the adoption of the modifications in defiance of the veto, and the reduction of the Royal Guard. By the Absolutists, these rioters were said to be Republican Carbonari; the Liberals, on the other hand, denounced them as the hirelings of a foreign Power, paid to foment disorders and discredit the constitutional cause. Several deputies of the latter party reproached them in that sense, and their leaders thereupon became silent, and withdrew from the tribunes. The hall was then cleared, but several affrays took place during the night between parties of the National Guard and

the Carbonaro Guard, in which the latter were generally worsted.

These dissensions and disturbances made the moderate Carbonari desirous of effacing from the Society its secret character, and impressing it with that of an association for the maintenance of the Constitution, which they regarded as their own work. With this view, the statutes of the Society were revised, the patents of many of the lodges were withdrawn, and the more violent members of the Republican section everywhere expelled. The expelled ultras formed themselves into a new Society under the name of Pythagoreans; but the intendant of Teramo ordered their lodges to be closed, and in Naples they were placed under the surveillance of the police. The Carbonaro Guard was, at the same time, reorganised, and subjected to a weeding process, in order to remove from it men who held the political creed of the ultras. It may be doubted whether the Society was not weakened, rather than strengthened, by this policy; but the leaders, now they were invested legally with supreme power, were anxious for the maintenance of order and the avoidance of any pretext for foreign intervention, and they were unaware that they were being betrayed to their ruin by a perfidious King.

Ferdinand had attended the Congress of Laybach, to which place the meeting of the Sovereigns of the Holy Alliance had been adjourned, ostensibly to obtain the sanction of that crowned triumvirate to the revolution, a mission in which the Prince of Cariati had already failed. He did not succeed, and probably did not desire success. A counter-revolution was decreed by the northern despots, and an Austrian

army crossed the Po, traversed the dominions of the Pope, and prepared to invade the Neapolitan territory at Rieti. In the meantime, Ferdinand and the Duke of Calabria, in whom the supreme command of the army was vested by the Constitution, were taking measures to render the national resistance unavailing. General Pepe was despatched towards the frontier with only ten thousand men, most of whom were militia, to oppose the advance of sixty thousand Austrians. Reinforcements were promised him, and also supplies of clothing and boots, which were much needed; but they were not sent, and, whilst he was hastening towards the frontier to resist the invasion, secret emissaries of the King were spreading false reports that a Russian army was on the Po, prepared to support the Austrians, and the British and French fleets on their way to the Bay of Naples to co-operate with the invaders.

Pepe reached Aquila on the 20th of February, still relying upon the promises of the Duke of Calabria, who, at the end of the month, assured him that Carascosas was on his way to support him. On the 3rd of March, when the Austrians were preparing to cross the frontier, and Carascosas was still far distant, the militia began to disband, the intendant of Aquila being engaged in the dissemination of false reports in the interest of the enemy, with whom he was in communication, while two adjutants were indicated to Pepe by Colonel Pisa, an officer of his staff, as employed by a person of high rank to effect the dispersion of the army. On the 7th the Austrians crossed the frontier, and Pepe attacked them at Civita Ducale, but, after a combat of seven hours,

was forced to retire to Aquila. The Austrians followed, and, the Neapolitan militia continuing to desert until their defection and his losses at Civita Ducale left him scarcely a thousand men, Pepe retreated to Isernia. He then found that Carascosas, instead of advancing to his support, had fallen back as the Austrians advanced, and, on reaching the Volturno, had traitorously disbanded his troops.

Pepe immediately hastened to Naples, and made energetic efforts to collect troops; but he was paralysed by the discovery that secret orders had been given to the regimental officers not to advance beyond Capua, and on receiving a hint from the Spanish Ambassador, the Cavaliere d'Onis, to provide for his personal safety, he embarked for Barcelona two days after his arrival in the capital. The Duke of Calabria wrote to him afterwards, offering him a diplomatic appointment; but Pepe declined to accept it, informing the Neapolitan Minister at Madrid that he recognised neither the Austrian military government at Naples nor the absolute rule of Ferdinand IV., to which it was preliminary. What would have been his fate if he had returned to Naples, or had remained there, may be inferred from that of Morelli and Silvati, who were arrested on the entry of the Austrians, tried by a military commission, and condemned to death. They met their fate with calmness and courage, never once swerving from the principles for the assertion of which they suffered. Morelli wished to speak at the place of execution, and began a bold profession of his political faith; but the Austrian drums drowned his voice, so fearful were Bourbons and Hapsburgs alike that the Carbonaro creed should

be recited in the hearing of their subjects, even by a bound prisoner whom only a few moments divided from death.

While these events were in progress in the south of Italy the exciting drama of revolution was being reproduced in Piedmont. The Carbonaro system had there spread rapidly, especially since the revolution in Naples, and at the close of 1820 the Piedmontese lodges embraced all the intellect and patriotism of the State. As in every other part of Italy, the younger members of the nobility and the junior officers of the army formed the van of the movement, and communicated to it the irrepressible ardour of their age. The Prince of Carignano lent the conspirators the influence of his name and his exalted position, and, as the presumptive heir to the throne, was naturally regarded as the leader of the movement. His adhesion proved, however, a serious misfortune, duplicity being an ineradicable vice of his character, which has caused his name to be handed down to posterity with the odium of the blackest treachery of which history affords an example. Passing from the lodges of the Carbonari to the saloons of the Russian Ambassador, he betrayed the secrets of the Society, knowing that they would be immediately communicated to the Austrian Minister, and by him to Metternich; and he returned to the councils of the conspirators to assist, by hypocrisy and deceit, in the weaving of a web of iniquity by which he would be advanced a step nearer to the throne, while the cause of freedom would be indefinitely thrown back.

Arrangements were made for a rising on the 12th

of January, but the movement was postponed by the Prince of Carignano. About the end of February the King was informed by the Austrian Ambassador that the Carbonari were plotting the expulsion of the Austrians; and the resolution of the Congress of Troppau must have impressed Victor Emmanuel very deeply with the conviction that he held his throne by sufferance of Austria, the condition being that he must neither grant the Constitution which his subjects were clamouring for nor evince the faintest sympathy with the patriotic aspirations of the Italians for the independence of their country. Several of the nobility were arrested, therefore, on suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy denounced by the Austrian Minister, and imprisoned in the fortress of Fenestrelles.

The Prince of Carignano, whose treachery had been the cause of these misfortunes, at length, on the 8th of March, gave the order for an immediate rising; but he countermanded this order on the following day, and the revolution would not have been effected if Count Parma had not resolved to disregard the revocation of the order, and act on the instructions of the 8th.* On the 10th of March a Constitution similar to that of Spain and Naples was openly proclaimed at Alessandria by Count Parma and Colonel Regis, who, supported by the greater part of the garrison and the students of the university, seized the citadel and hoisted the Italian tricolour—green, red, and blue. On the following day, when the news of this event reached Turin, great excitement pre-

* Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini.

vailed, and the Carbonari of the garrison and the university paraded the principal streets, shouting for the Constitution. Early on the morning of the 12th Captain Lesio set out from Turin for Pignerol, where a light cavalry regiment pronounced for the Constitution, and was led by him to the capital. The attitude of the army rendering it evident that it could not be relied upon as a means of resisting the popular movement, the Governor of Turin, the Cavaliere Varas, took his departure with the few troops who remained loyal; and the Carbonari immediately took possession of the citadel, hoisted the national tricolour, and proclaimed the Constitution amidst general and fervent enthusiasm.

Victor Emmanuel, who was residing at this time at the royal château of Monte Calveri, in the neighbourhood of the capital, hastened to Turin on learning what had occurred at Alessandria, and convened the Council of Ministers the moment he arrived. Finding a report current that the Austrian Government had demanded the disbandment of the Piedmontese army, and the occupation of the fortresses by Austrian troops, he immediately issued a proclamation, denying that such demands had been made; and then proposed to put himself at the head of the Royal Guards, and march to Alessandria to suppress the revolt. He was evidently very imperfectly acquainted with the situation, and seems to have faintly realised it even when farther enlightened. The idea of going to Alessandria was abandoned on its being found that the troops had pronounced for the Constitution, and could not be depended upon for the defence of absolutism. No other presented itself, however, and

the roar of the multitude without, shouting for the Constitution, warned him that something must be done, or it would soon be too late to do anything.

The Guards ordered to disperse the crowd before the palace joined in the cry for the Constitution, but otherwise remained inactive. It was then proposed in the Council that a Constitution similar to that of France should be proclaimed; but before this could be done, the booming of three guns from the ramparts of the citadel announced that the fortress was in the possession of the conspirators. Startled and dismayed, the King desired the Prince of Carignano to hasten to the citadel, and ascertain the demands of the Carbonaro leaders. The Prince departed, and returned with the intelligence that he had found a great crowd on the glacis, shouting for the Constitution, and the troops on the ramparts echoing the cry, and pointing with exultation to the tricoloured flag. He had been received with military honours, and treated with respect and courtesy by the Carbonaro leaders, who demanded the proclamation of the Spanish Constitution and war with Austria for the independence of Italy.

The Council sat all night, and Victor Emmanuel, finding that he must yield or retire, at length resolved to follow the example of his royal brother of Naples, and abdicate the throne. Early on the following morning, therefore, he left Turin with his family, and retired to Nice; and the Prince of Carignano, assuming the functions of Regent of the Kingdom, issued a proclamation announcing the change which had been resolved upon, notified the event to the Ministers of foreign Powers, and entered upon the

exercise of the full powers of sovereignty. The Spanish Constitution was proclaimed amidst the acclamations of the people, who saw the future through a rosy medium that effaced the resolution of the Holy Alliance and the impending Austrian intervention in Naples.

The crown devolved by the resignation of Victor Emmanuel upon his brother, Charles Felix, who was at that time residing at Modena, and known to be a decided absolutist. The double treachery of the Prince of Carignano was not long in displaying itself. On the evening of the 23rd, only eleven days after he had accepted the Regency of the kingdom, he left Turin at the head of the Royal Guards, the light artillery, and two regiments of cavalry; and Count Latour, who commanded a considerable force at Novara, and at first seemed disposed to recognise the revolution, invited Count Bubna, the General commanding the Austrian army on the frontier, to enter Piedmont, and effect a counter-revolution. These defections not only prevented the Carbonari of Piedmont from aiding their Good Cousins of Lombardy, but crushed their hopes of establishing constitutional government in the former State. On the approach of the loyalists and the Austrians to Turin, they retired to Alessandria, and thence to Genoa, which had pronounced for the Constitution on the day of Carignano's flight. Charles Felix entered the capital an absolute sovereign, but owing his throne to foreign bayonets; and the revolutionary leaders embarked at Genoa for Barcelona.

This deplorable collapse of the Piedmontese revolution left no hope for the patriots of Lombardy,

whose movements depended on its success. Count Confalionieri was seriously ill at the time, and on the eve of its outbreak he wrote to Count St. Marsan, advising its postponement on the ground that Lombardy was not prepared. He received at the same time a warning from Count Bubna that the movement was hopeless, and would ruin all who engaged in it;* but he disregarded the hint, and his letter to St. Marsan was either unheeded or was received too late. A plan of co-operation with the expected Piedmontese army had been arranged at the end of February by Pecchio and Scalvini, in conjunction with Count Giovanni Arrivabene, Borsieri, Clerk to the Court of Appeal at Milan, and two other Carbonari, Bossi and Castiglia. Count Arrivabene was not a Carbonaro, holding that the independence of Italy could be accomplished without secret societies; but he sympathised warmly with the movement, and on learning that funds were required for its success in Piedmont, furnished the conspirators with a considerable sum. Count Confalionieri was to be the head of the Provisional Government that was to be proclaimed in Milan on the entry of the Piedmontese, which movement would have cut off the Austrian army on the Po; but his illness removed a check on the impulsive enthusiasm of the subordinate conspirators, who hurried on the movement in Piedmont before they were prepared to co-operate with it.

Castiglia and the Marquis of Pallavicini went to Turin for that purpose, and another emissary was sent to the Carbonaro lodge at Brescia, where it was

* Arrivabene, An Epoch of my Life.

determined to muster all the Carbonari of the district as soon as the Piedmontese crossed the frontier, and, simultaneously with an outbreak in Milan, to disarm the garrison, seize the treasury, and surprise the fortresses of Peschiera and Rocca d'Aufo. The concentration of Austrian troops on the frontier and the collapse of the Piedmontese revolution defeated this project; and, when absolutism had been re-established at Naples and Turin, the Austrian police proceeded to gather the leaders of the secret societies of Lombardy into the Imperial prisons.

Pellico, suspected on account of the liberalism of his articles in the *Conciliatore*—Laderchi and Maroncelli, accused of propagating Carbonarism—Gioja, suspected of a secret correspondence with the abettors of revolution—were already in prison; and a commission was appointed to examine them, and others who might be caught in the meshes of the police. Under the rigorous and daily-repeated interrogatories of the chief commissioner, the execrable Salvotti, Laderchi admitted that he had told Professor Ressi that he was a Carbonaro, and Pellico made a similar admission concerning Count Arrivabene. Ressi and Arrivabene were immediately arrested, and hurried off to Venice, where, with the other prisoners, they were lodged in the prison of St. Michele, situate on the little island of that name. Count Arrivabene felt confident that his detention would be brief, as he was not a Carbonaro, and there was no evidence to connect him with the conspiracy; but he had forgotten that Pellico had suggested the Carbonaro system to him in the autumn of 1820. "Pellico," said Salvotti, when he found that he could extract from him nothing criminatory, "con-

fided to you that he was a Carbonaro: it was your duty to denounce him to the Government; you have not done so—therefore, you are guilty of the crime of non-revelation."

The next arrest was that of Scalvini, accused of having, two years previously, written a letter in which he had spoken irreverently of the Emperor. Then came the turn of Count Confalionieri, who had indulged the delusive dream that he was unsuspected, and that, even if suspected, the Government would not arrest a man of his high rank and illustrious lineage. He was arrested in December, together with Castiglia and the Marquis of Pallavicini, just after Count Arrivabene obtained his freedom. The police had now got a clue to the conspiracy, and minor offenders were of less consequence. Gioja was also liberated, after suffering nine months' imprisonment; and Scalvini, having suffered a similar period of detention, was discharged from custody at the end of February.

The liberated became the "lions" of the saloons of Venice, the noblest of the kingdom, including the Princess of Gonzaga and the Countess Albrizzi, whom Byron called the De Staël of Italy, vying with each other in doing them honour. But they were not yet safe. Count Arrivabene, on going to Milan, called upon the Countess Confalionieri, who advised him to leave the country as quickly as he could. He neglected the warning, and, on learning that Scalvini was free, went to Brescia to welcome him back to liberty. The poet advised that they should leave Italy together; but the Count was hard to convince that he was in any danger, and even the circumstance of his not

being allowed to proceed from Brescia to Verona, the police requiring him to return to Mantua, in the vicinity of which he resided, failed to impress him with a due sense of the consequences of disregarding the warning of the Countess Confalionieri, who had probably good reason for her advice, the family being on friendly terms with the Austrian General, Count Bubna.

The arrest of Borsieri and Mompiani on the 8th of April roused him at length to consciousness of danger, and he hurried to Brescia, whence he, Scalvini, and Baron Ugoni fled to Switzerland. Count Porro expatriated himself at the same time, and, with the other refugees, was ordered to surrender within sixty days, under the penalty of the sequestration of their property in default; and, on their failing to return, their estates were placed under sequestration, and themselves finally condemned to death as contumacious offenders.

The trials of the Carbonari were protracted until the beginning of 1822, when Confalionieri, Pellico, Maroncelli, and some others, were condemned to death; and Ressi, and many more, to imprisonment for life. Ressi was released shortly afterwards by death, however; and the sentences on the others were commuted by the Emperor, at the intercession of the Empress and the Viceroy, supported by petitions from the nobles of Lombardy and Venetia, and the Archbishop of Milan and his clergy. Confalionieri was ordered to be exposed in the pillory, and then to be imprisoned for life in the fortress of Spielberg; and the others were to suffer an incarceration of fifteen years in that dreaded prison.

Though Confalionieri had for some time been so ill and weak that he could scarcely stand, he was dragged, loaded with chains, to undergo the degradation of the pillory; and, shortly afterwards, though declared by physicians to be in a dying state, was compelled to set out for Spielberg with the rest. He fell from one fainting fit into another, however, and had to be left by the way. On his recovery he was removed to Vienna, where Count Sedlewitsky, Director-General of the Police, and Prince Metternich visited him in turn, each using every argument that suggested itself in the endeavour to obtain disclosures from him. The prisoner was firm, however, in his refusal, and was sent on to Spielberg, still suffering from fainting fits, to wear out his life under the systematic cruelty by which the Austrian Government strove to unravel the secrets of the Carbonari and strike terror into every Italian heart.

The Emperor must be regarded at this time as the head gaoler of his dominions. He had a plan of the fortress, and seemed to be constantly studying the means of isolating the captives more completely, and increasing the rigour and the irksomeness of their confinement. No one unconnected with the prison was allowed to see them; the means of reading and writing were strictly prohibited. When they petitioned for permission to labour in the open air with the felons, they were ordered to make lint in their cells; and when they complained of this aggravation of their punishment, he said, with a sneer, "Are they not philanthropists?" The gaolers and guards were frequently changed, lest humanity should assert itself and the prisoners obtain some alleviation of their

punishment, or even be enabled to escape. Priests were sent to work upon their minds and hearts, and endeavour to extract from them political secrets under the plea of performing the offices of religion. The commandant of the fortress was directed to keep the strictest watch over the prisoners, the gaolers, and the guards, and make a daily report to the Emperor; and lest he should fail in the performance of his duty, the assistant hangman of Vienna was sent to Spielberg to be a spy upon the commandant. The director-general of the police visited the fortress monthly, and reported upon its condition and management; the governor-general was ordered to report upon the conduct of the director-general of the police and the commandant of the fortress; and an Aulic Councillor, or a Minister of State, visited Spielberg every year, with instructions to take everybody by surprise, and ascertain whether the Emperor's orders were strictly executed.

Several of the political prisoners of 1820–21, perished prematurely in their dungeons; and when, in 1830, an amnesty was granted by the Emperor, Confalionieri was prematurely aged and infirm, Pellico had lost a limb, Maroncelli was in the last stage of disease, and there was not one of the survivors whose sufferings and long confinement had not shortened his remaining years of life. Confalionieri was liberated, even then, only on the condition of not returning to Italy. He proceeded to the United States, where he remained until 1841, when he received permission to reside in the land of his birth; but he survived the indulgence only five years.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ASSOCIATED PATRIOTS.

FRANCE, on the fall of Napoleon, experienced the humiliation which she had inflicted on Germany during his supremacy. The dynasty which she had subverted by so tremendous an effort was restored by the might of foreign armies; her long-conquering legions were disbanded, and the tricoloured flag under which it had fought at Marengo and Austerlitz and Jena replaced by the white ensign of the ancient monarchy; her fortresses were held by foreign troops, whose iron grasp was felt as that of a gaoler; an indemnity of sixty millions sterling had to be raised by the imposition of fresh taxes upon a people whose commerce and industry were already prostrated by the exactions, in blood and money, of their late despot.

Even this terrible amount of sacrifice and humiliation did not procure for the French people either liberty or internal peace. The Charter limited the possession of political power to the large landowners and the upper grades of the middle class; the press was bound in the fetters of the censorship; the freedom of speech was stifled by the enactment of the severest penalties for the faintest utterance that could be displeasing to the exultant partisans of the restored dynasty. The

nobles who had fled from France on the fall of the monarchy, and had since been engaged in a constant conspiracy against their country, flocked back, breathing fire and slaughter against Republicans and Buonapartists alike. Their emissaries stirred up the rabble to the commission of crimes and outrages against the persons and property of the proscribed parties which vied in atrocity with those of the San Fedists of Naples. Royalist mobs murdered Marshal Brune at Avignon, with circumstances of horrible barbarity; threatened the life of Massena at Marseilles, and cut to pieces his friend Angles-Capefique, a near relative of the historian of that name; burst into the house of General Ramel at Toulouse, and murdered him in his bed; shot General Legarde at Nismes, while he was endeavouring to protect the opening of a Protestant chapel; and at Marseilles, Nismes, and Toulouse pillaged and burned the houses of several persons who were obnoxious to them. These atrocities were never punished, or even inquired into; a Royalist reign of terror prevailed all through the south, and the prefects were either unable or unwilling to do their duty.

The Representative Chamber, elected as it was by the more wealthy classes, whose interests prompt them to support order at whatever sacrifice of freedom, consisted of a large majority of partisans of the old *régime*, and a minority which was not an Opposition, since it was more in accordance with the Ministry than the majority. The Buonapartists and the Republicans, who now jointly assumed the name of the Patriots, were represented only by Flaugergues and Argenson. There sat in the Chamber of Deputies, therefore, only those who supported a Constitution

which excluded the people from political power, and those who would gladly have torn up the Charter, and dispensed with even the shadow of representative government which it established.

The first acts of the Chambers in the session of 1815–16 were, the establishment of the censorship, the imposition of heavy taxes for the purpose of paying the indemnity, and a measure for the repression of sedition which, when its provisions became known, whitened with dismay every cheek that did not redden with indignation. By this Draconian statute it was enacted that all persons accused of offences against the person or authority of the King, or any member of the royal family, or the security of the State, might be arrested and detained in prison until the end of the next session of the Chambers, without being brought to trial; and all persons convicted of uttering seditious cries, uttering or writing any threat against the King, or any member of the royal family, stimulating to resistance of the royal authority, provoking directly or indirectly the overthrow of the Government, or a change in the order of succession to the throne, or exhibiting any other flag than the white flag, whether or not any consequences should follow such offences, and whether or not they should be connected with any actual conspiracy, should be transported to Cayenne. Terms of imprisonment, varying from three months to five years, together with pecuniary fines, were assigned for a multitude of minor offences, which rendered it difficult in the extreme for any person who might be obnoxious to the Government to avoid falling into the meshes of the police.

Lest even this severe measure should leave any loophole of escape for those who might infringe its provisions, provostal courts, which were a revival in some measure of the old tribunals of the provost-marshals, were instituted for their more certain condemnation. Every department had its provostal court, the judges of which were nominated by the chancellor, and were untrammelled by the intervention of a jury; and every such court had attached to it a provost, who was appointed by the Minister for War, and was almost invariably an old military officer of the era preceding the Revolution. The function of this officer was to arrest and bring before the court all persons whom he believed to be disaffected to the Government, or engaged in any plot against the Crown or the State; and he was assisted in its exercise by self-constituted committees in all the towns, and the members of which were in constant communication with the Pavillon Marsan, as the coterie of the Count of Artois was called. These royalist committees and the provostal courts soon came into active operation, and between them they diffused over France a feeling of dread which recalled the most terrible period of the Revolution.

It was under these circumstances that the secret society of the Associated Patriots was formed, with the object of effecting a revolution before the army could be reorganised, and establishing a Republic. Its direction was in Paris, but there were branch societies in several provincial towns. The organisation of the Society seems never to have become thoroughly known to the police, but the suspicions of the Government pointed to Lafayette as the secret director of the

movement, though his connexion with it could not be discovered. The houses of the veteran revolutionist and his friends, Manuel and Argenson, were the nightly resort of disaffected persons, especially of men who had sat in the National Convention or held commissions in the armies of the Republic and the Empire. Many of the latter class, weeded out of the army since the restoration of the Bourbons, and displaced civil functionaries, superseded under the Richelieu administration by partisans of the new order of things, belonged to the Associated Patriots; and with these were joined many non-commissioned officers and privates of the disbanded army and a considerable number of workmen. The composition of the Society was similar, it will be seen, to that of the Carbonaro organisation in France a few years later.

The operations of the Society commenced before the close of 1815, and were rapidly extended to places so far apart as Amiens and Grenoble. The plan of the conspirators is said to have embraced the blowing up of the Tuileries in the middle of the night, by means of twenty barrels of gunpowder deposited in a subterranean gallery worked from an old sewer; but, as this statement rests upon the unsupported testimony of the spies of the Rue de Jerusalem, it must be received with caution. The establishment of a Provisional Government, and the convening of a National Assembly, were to follow. Paris was slenderly garrisoned at the time, and chiefly by British regiments; and there can be little doubt that, if the conspirators had carried out their design, and triumphed in the capital, the provincial towns would have immediately pronounced for the new revolution.

The nightly assemblages at the houses of Lafayette, Manuel, and Argenson did not escape the observation of the Government and the police, and the chief of the establishment in the Rue de Jerusalem did not hesitate to denounce those gentlemen to Decazes, who had succeeded Fouché as Minister of Police, as the chiefs of some hidden conspiracy. The restored monarchy was, however, too young as yet for an experiment upon the security of its foundations to be tried by the arrest of so important a personage as Lafayette; and it would not have been possible to have prosecuted Manuel and Argenson without implicating that veteran revolutionist. The Ministers hesitated to proceed against either of the deputies, therefore, though the arrest of Manuel was specially urged upon them. No bolder measure could be resolved upon by the Richelieu Ministry than the arrest of some obscure individuals, whose execution would, it was hoped, strike terror into the hearts of the actual or probable conspirators of every degree.

The means that were adopted for drawing the desired victims into the meshes of the police were so horrible that the story would be scarcely credible if it were not confirmed by the testimony of the famous detective, Vidocq, and similar atrocities had not been recorded in the secret registers of Downing Street. The infamy which attaches to the names of Reynolds and Armstrong, the betrayers of the United Irishmen, is of a mild type compared with that of the Home Office emissaries who concocted, and then betrayed, the Barley Mow plot, for which Colonel Despard suffered—who reported to Lord Sidmouth, day by day, the

treasonable project that they were assisting to concert in that Cato Street garret which Thistlewood stained with the blood of the police-officer Smithers—and who suggested the darkest features of the Chartist conspiracy of 1848.*

At the time when the Associated Patriots were conspiring the overthrow of the monarchy, there were in Paris a great number of singing clubs, called *guinguettes*. "This species of political rat-trap," says Vidocq, "was at first formed under the auspices of the police, who peopled it with their agents. There it was that, whilst drinking with mechanics and persons composing the inferior class, these spies of the Government worked upon them in order to involve them in false conspiracies. I have witnessed several of these mock patriotic meetings, at which those who pretended to the greatest share of enthusiasm were the tools of the police, and were easily

* Powell, *alias* the Welsh Novice, who insinuated himself into the confidence of Cuffey and his co-conspirators under the assumed name of Jackson and the false character of a workman, gained his living by walking for wagers and sponging in so-called sporting public-houses. It was he who suggested the strewing of caltrops in the streets to lame the cavalry horses. During the trial of the conspirators his lodging was watched by the police, and he was escorted by them to and from the Old Bailey, lest his career should be ended before he had secured the condemnation of the accused. He had, however, a narrow escape of being shot in the witness-box—a fact now revealed for the first time. The intending assassin was the shoemaker-poet, James Blackaby, one of whose effusions appeared in *Reynolds's Miscellany*, and another (suggested by the death of Lord Abinger) was published at Croydon. He died some years ago at Hertford. Powell had his passage to Australia paid by the Government, but colonial life was not to his taste, and he came back a discontented man, complaining that he had "saved society," and that society had not adequately testified its gratitude.

distinguished by the gross and vulgar hatred expressed in their songs against the royal family. These intemperate rhapsodies were the productions of the same authors as the hymns of St. Louis and St. Charles, and were paid for out of the secret funds of the Rue de Jerusalem. . . . Three heads were by these machinations brought to the scaffold—those of Carbonneau, Pleignier, and Tolleron; after which the *guinguettes* were closed. There was no further occasion for them; sufficient blood had been shed."*

The men named by Vidocq were respectively a writing-master, a leather-cutter, and an engraver, who were arrested on the charge of preparing and circulating a treasonable circular. Pleignier was represented by the police as the ostensible chief of the conspiracy, and he admitted his responsibility for the circulars, which, with cards showing the affiliation of the accused to the Associated Patriots, was the chief evidence against them, in addition to that of the police. Seventeen other persons were arrested, including some women, and were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Pleignier, Carbonneau, and Tolleron were convicted of treason, and condemned to death; and the sentence was executed with every detail that was calculated to excite in the public mind a horror of their doom. The unfortunate men were conducted to the place of execution with their faces concealed by black veils, after the manner in which parricides were formerly led to the scaffold; and before they were strapped to the plank, and their necks placed beneath the knife of the guillotine, each of the condemned men

* Autobiography of Vidocq.

was made to place his right hand upon a block, where, in the sight of the horrified crowd, it was severed from the arm by the axe of the executioner. The attempt to impress upon the spectators the idea that the King stood towards the people in the relation of a father to his children was simply puerile; but the revival of the barbarous practice of mutilation before the infliction of the capital sentence was a superadded horror that could excite no other feeling than indignation and disgust.

There was living in Paris at this time an old man named Didier, who had been educated with a view to the priesthood, but had adopted the profession of the advocate as more congenial. Restless and fickle, he had several times changed his political creed, and been by turns a Republican, a Royalist, and an Imperialist. Under the Empire he had lived quietly on the fortune he had amassed by the practice of his profession, and he seems to have taken no part in the agitations which attended the fall of Napoleon, his return from Elba, and his final abdication. About the time when the conspiracy of the Associated Patriots collapsed, he was observed to mix much with the disaffected of all denominations, but especially with the partisans of the Duke of Orleans.* In a short time afterwards he left Paris, ostensibly on his private business, and proceeded to Lyons, where he held communication with several persons known to be disaffected to the Government. Thence he returned to Paris, but in a few days again departed, leaving no trace of his route.

His destination this time was Grenoble, in the vicinity of which town he was born, and where he was

* Lamartine's History of the Restoration.

well known. Making the house of a friend, an old officer of the Imperial army, his head-quarters, he assembled a number of discharged officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, and acquainted them with a project for the expulsion of the foreign garrisons and the declaration of the national independence. There was no mention of Napoleon II., of the Duke of Orleans, or of a Republic; and the vagueness of the manifesto produced dissatisfaction. For the moment it fell dead; but Didier passed from village to village, and from farmhouse to farmhouse, between and around Grenoble and Chambéry, addressing nocturnal assemblies and enrolling partisans, some in the name of Napoleon II., others in that of a Republic, and, in fewer instances, in that of the Duke of Orleans.

The aim which he proposed to himself is not clear, his vague and contradictory utterances leaving nothing defined beyond an endeavour to overthrow the restored dynasty of Bourbon. Lamartine inclines to the belief that he was working in the interests of the Duke of Orleans; but his last words were an emphatic warning to the King against that prince, and the men whom he associated with him in his abortive enterprise were all Buonapartists. On the other hand, no connexion could be traced between Didier and the Republicans. The Associated Patriots of Grenoble were aware of his proceedings in the villages of Dauphiny and Savoy, but they distrusted him, and declined to participate in them. Like him, they aimed at the subversion of the Bourbons, but they were as averse to the restoration of the Empire as to the prolongation of the ancient Monarchy, and the vagueness of his designs and his Buonapartist associations pointed in the

former direction. They would not betray him, but they left him to pursue his dangerous course alone.

On the night of the 14th of May, Didier marched against Grenoble at the head of about two hundred discharged soldiers and peasants of the district; but General Donnadieu, the commandant of the town, was on the alert, having been warned by the police, who had tracked Didier to Lyons, back to Paris, and thence to Grenoble. At the head of the garrison he attacked and repulsed the insurgents, killing eight and taking sixty prisoners. He immediately sent to Paris a grossly exaggerated report of the affair, representing that the insurgents numbered two thousand, and that the road leading from Grenoble to Chambéry was covered with the dead and wounded, the former alone numbering more than a hundred. These exaggerations created in the mind of the King the fear that invariably engenders cruelty; orders were sent to Grenoble that none of the convicted insurgents were to be spared, and a reward of eight hundred pounds was offered for the arrest of Didier, who had escaped into the mountains of Savoy. Before the inhuman order of Louis XVIII. reached Grenoble the prisoners had been tried and convicted by the Provostal Court, and three of them shot. Twenty-one others had obtained a temporary respite, but the royal orders were peremptory, and the whole of them were executed. Didier himself was betrayed by a peasant who had sheltered him until the reward was offered, and, being given up to the Sardinian authorities, was surrendered by them to the French police and executed.

This outbreak was followed, on the 8th of June, by

a similar affair at Lyons, which had no connexion with the rising around Grenoble, and yet was not traced to the Associated Patriots. On the evening of the day mentioned the alarm-bells were rung in several villages around Lyons, and a body of armed men approached the city, but they were dispersed by the troops without much difficulty, and ten of them captured. Subsequent arrests raised the number of prisoners to more than two hundred; and this movement, regarded in connexion with the recent conspiracy in Paris, the insurrection at Grenoble, the disturbances that occurred about the same time at Nismes and Tarrascon, and the discovery of a branch of the Associated Patriots at Amiens, excited the most serious uneasiness in the minds of Louis and his Ministers. Decazes, who as Minister of Police had the best means of forming a sound judgment of the wide-spread discontent which they indicated, had his eyes opened to the conviction that the system of government which had suffered such a tremendous collapse a generation before could not be maintained without another crash, and his influence with the King enabled him to impress his own views on the royal mind. Marshal Marmont was hastily sent to Lyons to avert the possible danger of another judicial massacre, and the result of this timely interposition was that no blood was shed there, and only the most deeply implicated of the accused were imprisoned.

This danger averted, Decazes conferred with Pasquier and Molé, the leaders of the Constitutional Monarchists or moderate party, and arrived with them at the conclusion that the dynasty would not be safe without an extension of the franchise and the

restoration of the system of direct election. Richelieu was brought to concur in this view, and the King, upon an elaborate memorial being laid before him, setting forth the necessity of the measure, acknowledged the correctness of his Minister's views and consented to adopt them. The Chambers were dissolved, and by that manipulation of the electoral machinery which seems inseparable from the system of representative institutions in France the Royalists, as the partisans of the old régime were called, were reduced to a minority, and a majority was obtained to support the comparatively liberal views of a Ministry in which Count Molé, Marshal St. Cyr, and Baron Pasquier displaced men of absolutist tendencies.

The modification of the electoral law, and of the laws affecting the press and individual liberty, gave the people little to be thankful for; however, the number of persons paying the amount of direct taxes which qualified them to vote being still little more than ninety thousand. But the collapse of the conspiracy of the Associated Patriots had rendered the Republican leaders cautious, and disposed them to defer aggressive operations until they could commence them under better auspices and with an improved and extended organisation. The Holy Alliance loomed darkly over the whole of the Continent; the hope of liberty which had inspired the heroic efforts of the Germans for the liberation of their country from foreign domination had been crushed, and the cells of Spandau were filled with the men to whom Frederick William owed his throne; Britain was writhing under the heels of Sidmouth and Castlereagh; the Inquisition had been

re-established in Spain; the Sovereigns of Italy ruled by sufferance of Austria. It was "the winter of the world,"* and the men who stood on the watch-towers of an exalted patriotism everywhere looked wearily abroad, unknowing the point of the horizon on which the first red streaks would herald freedom's dawn.

* Shelley's Revolt of Islam.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COMMUNEROS.

A LIGHT that seemed the first glimmer of the dawn at length rose beyond the Pyrenees. One of those outbursts of indignant patriotism which have so fitfully, and to such little purpose, brightened the melancholy pages of Spanish history, produced the overthrow of despotism; and Ferdinand VII., in wild alarm for his throne, proclaimed the Constitution which had been established by the Cortes in 1812, and swore most solemnly to uphold it. This hopeful event was followed by similar revolutions in Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, the collapse of which in the Italian kingdoms, on the application of Austrian bayonets, has been related. Spain and Portugal were too far distant for the legions of the Holy Alliance to overrun its soil, and trample its Constitution under their feet; and the monarchs who assembled at Troppau in the autumn of 1820 were obliged to content themselves, for the time at least, by proclaiming their displeasure at the audacity which the nations of the Iberian Peninsula had displayed in recovering the liberties which they had won when their native rulers had deserted them.

As has happened in every similar movement, the men who made the Spanish revolution separated into

two parties as soon as it was accomplished. There were the Constitutionalists who simply desired to put an end to despotism, royal and ecclesiastical, and were content when the power of the Sovereign was limited and defined, and their leaders were installed as his Ministers; and there were the Constitutionalists who aimed at giving the fullest reality and a practical application to the instrument to which Ferdinand had set his hand, and the third article of which was as follows:—"The sovereignty is vested in the nation, to which, therefore, the right of making its fundamental laws exclusively pertains." The two parties, united in the accomplishment of the revolution, naturally, therefore, became as widely separated from each other afterwards as the Whigs and the Radicals of Britain became after 1832.

The arrest of Riego was the signal for the withdrawal of these two parties into hostile camps. That event produced an immense excitement all over Spain, and provoked demonstrations of antagonism to the Government in most of the large towns. In Madrid the bust of Riego was carried through the streets in a procession, with flags and banners; the Liberal journals defended him; the hall of the Landaburian Society rang with his praises, and with invectives against the Government. The Ministers censured the attitude of the ultras, and resolved to suppress the demonstrations. The ultras persisted in making another manifestation in the capital, in which there was borne in the procession a large picture, representing Riego holding in his hand the Constitution, and overthrowing figures symbolical of Despotism and Ignorance. The Royal Guards were posted in the

Puerto del Sol, with orders to stop the procession; but, on its approach, they presented arms, and raised a cry of "Riego and the Constitution!" Another regiment, excited by the cries of the Guards and the processionists, poured out from its barracks and joined in the demonstration. In vain did the officers of the Guards command them to charge and disperse the procession. They refused to obey, and the processionists and their military sympathisers shouted *Viva Riego!* until they were hoarse. Murillo, the Captain-General of Madrid, at length brought up the National Guards, who charged the processionists with the bayonet, and dispersed them in every direction.

The breach between the two sections of the Constitutional party now became complete, and the ultras organised themselves under the direction of Balesteros, Morales, Palarea, and others, as the Society of the Communeros. The name was derived from the *communes*, and had no reference, as asserted by Alison, to the doctrine of common property. As the moderate Constitutionalists were all Freemasons, and had used the Masonic system as a means of concerting in secret the movement which brought about the revolution,* the ultras thought they could best promote their aims by adopting a similar organisation.

"The essential object of the Confederation," the statutes of the Society set forth, "is to support at any sacrifice the rights and liberties of the Spanish people, as laid down in the Political Constitution of the kingdom, recognising as an unalterable principle the third article of the said Constitution." The

* Quin's Visit to Spain.

statutes, the oaths, the initiatory discourses contain no other profession of political faith than this. There were no grades in the Society, all the members being on the same level. The members of each province constituted a *commune*, and each commune was divided into an indefinite number of local societies, designated *towers*. A tower comprised any number of members over seven and not exceeding fifty, except in the case of military corps. In places where the number of members was less than seven, the initiated formed a *fort*, which was subordinate to the nearest tower.

The constitution of the Society was representative, and essentially democratic. The apex was formed by the Supreme Assembly, in which each commune was represented by a single delegate, and whose functions were the direction of the affairs of the Society in accordance with its institutions, and conformably to the political circumstances of the nation, the enforcement of the statutes, the constituting of communes, the communication of resolutions and instructions to the *juntas*, the receipt and application of the funds accruing from the contributions of the members, and the changing of the pass-words, signs, and countersigns. The officers of the Assembly comprised a commander, lieutenant-commander, alcaid, treasurer, and four secretaries. The place of meeting was called the Alcazar. The alcaid was charged with its security, the custody of the seal, and the audit of the accounts. The delegates were divided into three committees, whose respective functions were justice, vigilance, and administration.

The statutes provided that there should be in the Alcazar, "various inscriptions to record the glorious

actions of the heroes of the Confederation. In the front there shall be placed a sepulchral urn, in which shall be deposited the ashes of the most illustrious Communeros, if they can be obtained, as well as the documents relating to their deeds of heroism; and in defect of the former a statue shall be substituted. At a short distance from the urn shall be placed a table covered with a purple cloth, on which shall be placed a shield painted with the arms of the Confederation, and also the seal of the Society; chairs for the President and officers shall be arranged at its extremity, and benches along the sides. At the end of the benches shall be placed three circular towers, with battlements of a height proportioned to the chamber, equidistant from each other, and in a line. On the middle one shall be inscribed, *The Constitution of the Kingdom;* on the right-hand one, the Third Article of the Constitution of the Kingdom; and on the left-hand one, *The Confederation sustains at any sacrifice the Rights and Liberties of the Spanish People.* On each tower shall wave a flag of the Confederation, purple, with a white castle in the centre. The door shall be fortified by a portcullis and drawbridge, which shall be raised during the sittings, and guarded by five lancers."

The affairs of a commune were administered by a junta, composed of the delegates of the towers, and having for its officers a governor, lieutenant-governor, alcaid, treasurer, and two secretaries. The delegates to a junta were divided into two committees, whose attributes were justice and vigilance. The juntas were charged with the enforcement of the statutes in the communes, the adoption of measures of urgency

when there was no time to communicate with the Supreme Assembly, the constituting of towers, and the communication to the towers of the resolutions and instructions of the Supreme Assembly. The place of meeting was called the Castle of Liberty.

The officers of a tower were an alcaid, a treasurer, a secretary, and one called the captain of the keys, who combined the duties of a doorkeeper with those of a master of the ceremonies of initiation. Besides carrying into effect the resolutions and instructions of the Supreme Assembly and the communal juntas, the towers occupied themselves in diffusing a knowledge of the Constitution, discussing its provisions, and proposing to the juntas whatever they considered would be conducive to its improvement, or to the welfare of the country. The forts might also discuss such matters, and communicate the results to the towers to which they were subordinate.

The candidates for initiation were called *recruits*, and the ceremony of their reception *enlistment*. The statutes provided that, "In order to be enlisted under the standard of the Confederation, it is necessary that the candidate should be in complete possession of the rights of a Spaniard; that he should be above nineteen years of age; that he should be of correct habits, and have the reputation of an honourable man among his companions; that he should follow some trade or profession, or should have an income sufficient for his subsistence; that he should be attached to the Constitutional system of the kingdom, and should abhor tyranny in every form; that he should take the oaths of the institution, and subject himself to the proofs and formalities required by the regulations for this

act." The recruit had to be proposed by a Communero, who was required to inform himself as to the aspirant's political opinions, and apprise him of the objects of the Confederation, "but in a vague manner, without discovering its nature or circumstances, or the persons of whom it is composed." The object of this precaution is obvious. If the recruit was rejected, he was not in a position to give any information to persons who might make use of it to the injury of the Society,

Proposals for the admission of new members had to be made in writing, and signed by the proposer, setting forth the candidate's name, age, occupation or profession, birthplace, and residence. Neither the towers nor the communes had the authority to admit members, all proposals being submitted to the Supreme Assembly. Inquiries concerning the character and antecedents of the candidate were made by the committee of vigilance, and, if the results were satisfactory, the question of admitting the aspirant was decided by ballot. A majority of six-sevenths of the delegates present was required, and even then the decision was not conclusive, a second ballot taking place in the junta of the commune in which the candidate resided. If a majority of two-thirds was then obtained, the candidate was admitted in the tower in which he had been proposed.

Previous to the initiation, the captain of the keys impressed the recruit with a due sense of the grave obligations which he was about to contract, and administered the following oath :—

"I swear to keep secret, during my life, whatever I have heard or understood from the time that I deter-

mined to offer myself for admission to this assembly, and also whatever I may see or understand hereafter relating to it." The recruit was then left alone for a short time, that he might read the statutes of the Society, after which he was required to answer in writing the following queries:—"1. What are the most sacred obligations a citizen owes to his country? 2. What punishment would you inflict on him who failed in those obligations? 3. How would you reward him who sacrificed everything to a strict compliance with them?" The answers being conformable to the principles of the Society, the recruit was led into the meeting-room of the tower, where he took and signed the oath of the Communeros in the following form:—

"I swear before God, and upon my honour, before this assembly of Communeros, that I will guard and defend, at every hazard, and by every means in my power, wherever I shall be, whether alone or in company with confederates, the rights and liberties of the Spanish nation, as they are set forth in the political Constitution of the kingdom, recognising, as an unalterable basis, that the sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, and that, therefore, to it exclusively belongs the right of making its fundamental laws, as is literally expressed in the third article of the same. I swear also to guard and obey the statutes and regulations of the Confederation, and such orders conformable with them as may be given to me by the officers of the said Confederation. I swear likewise to preserve during my life the most inviolable secrecy with respect to all the affairs of the said Confederation, and to maintain unalterable union

and fraternal friendship with all confederates, assisting them with my person and property in all dangers and necessities, and submitting to amicable conciliation any complaint or grievance which I may have against one or more of them. And, lastly, I swear to maintain and defend, at every hazard, the aforesaid, and, imitating the illustrious Padilla and Lanuza, to die with arms in my hands, rather than submit to tyranny. And if I should fail to perform these solemn oaths, I declare myself a traitor and perjurer to the Confederation, and deserving to be ignominiously expelled from it, and subject to such other penalties as it may inflict."

Then all the members present rose from their seats, sword in hand, and the President thus addressed the recruit:—"You are now a Communero; and in proof of it, all the Communeros will defend you from all the strokes which malignity may aim at you, if you comply with the obligations of your oath; but if not, you will suffer the penalties which are prescribed in the code for offences against the Confederation." The recruit was then invested with a scarf, and the captain of the keys placed the flag of the Confederation in his left hand, saying:—"This is the invincible and glorious standard of the Confederation of the Communeros, dyed in the blood of Padilla. Your country and the Confederation hope that you will imitate that hero, by meeting death rather than see this glorious standard outraged by a tyrant." The alcaid next placed a sword in his hand, saying:—"This is the sword of your country: I deliver it to you that you may defend the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of the kingdom, and the sacred principle

that the sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. The Confederation confides in your honour; but if you fail in your obligations, may the Supreme Being, who sees your heart, pursue you to your destruction."

The penalties prescribed by the penal code of the Confederation for offences against its principles and statutes were expulsion, which might be ignominious, forced, or tacit; separation, public or private; censure, public or private; warning; and fines, the last varying in amount from four to forty reals vellon. By the fifth article, any member who conspired directly and overtly to destroy or alter those statutes of the Confederation which were identified with the Constitution of the kingdom was considered a traitor and a perjurer, and condemned to be ignominiously expelled and deprived of his scarf and card; his name was to be erased, and his sentence communicated to all the towers, so that he might be shunned by all the members as a dangerous person and an enemy to the welfare and interests of the Society and the nation. Minor offences were punished by minor penalties, and special tribunals were constituted, as among the Carbonari, for trying the offenders and awarding the due punishment of their offences. Members might withdraw from the Society at pleasure, but before terminating their connexion with it, were required to give up all distinctive decorations and documents that might be in their possession, to maintain secrecy with regard to the affairs of the Society, and to abstain from doing anything contrary to its institutions. The private and social duties of the members were prescribed by statutes similar to those adopted by the Carbonari for the same purpose.

The meetings of the Communeros were opened by the commandant or governor with the following formula:—

"Companions! A fatality defeated the endeavours of our heroic predecessors on the field of Villalar. Three ages of despotism and slavery followed that unfortunate event; and although the nation, conducted to the brow of the precipice, recovered its liberty in 1808, at the expense of such great sacrifices, yet in 1814 our want of prudence and energy plunged us afresh into the deep abyss of slavery. Six years of blood and desolation passed over us, and then we saw again our liberties re-established in the code of our rights—the Spanish Constitution. Let us be on the alert, and let us resolve to die rather than consent to the privation of this deposit of our liberties, which has consecrated the national sovereignty as an immutable principle. Do you swear it, Communeros?"

All the members present, with their right hands on their swords, responded, "Yes, we swear it!" The formula for closing the session was more brief: it was as follows:—"Let us retire, Communeros, to give rest to our minds and to repair the strength of our bodies, that we may return with fresh vigour to the defence of our country's liberties."

On being elected to any office in the Society, a Communero was required to take and subscribe an oath in the following terms:—"I swear to observe the most profound secrecy concerning whatever may be confided to me relative to the exercise of my office, however dangerous the circumstances in which I may be placed, and to faithfully transmit to my successor such information as may be entrusted to me."

The most important of the communes were those of New Castile, Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia, the strength of the Society being in the barracks and workshops of Madrid, Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, and Carthagena. Riego was suspected of being a member of the Saragossa tower, and he is said to have just returned from a tour of propagandism when he was arrested.

The elections of 1822, the results of which were greatly influenced by the efforts of the Communeros, placed the Cortes in a position of antagonism to the Government, the ultras constituting a large majority, so that the Ministers were in a similar situation to that occupied in France by the Richelieu Ministry in 1816, with the difference that the majority opposed to the latter consisted of Absolutists, while in the Spanish Cortes the majority was composed of the Democratic party, comprising a great many Communeros. The only noble was the Duke of Pasque, who was a member of the Corresponding Society of European Patriots, instituted by General Pepe. Riego was chosen for President, and an attitude assumed by the majority which foreboded one of those struggles for power which occur only in countries where the principles of constitutional government are imperfectly understood. In England, a general election, resulting in the return of a large majority opposed to the party administering the Government, would be immediately followed by a change of Ministry; but continental statesmen have not recognised the necessity of this course even yet, as was shown in the earlier years of the administration of Bismarck, and the Ministers of Ferdinand VII. followed the example

furnished on the other side of the Pyrenees by Richelieu.

The difficulty of the situation was increased by the absolutist tendencies of the King, and the attitude of foreign Powers. It had been proposed by Prince Metternich that the resolution adopted by the Holy Alliance, at the Congress of Troppau, against "States which the overthrow of authority by revolt had placed in a hostile attitude towards every legitimate Government" should be enforced by the landing of an Austro-Russian army on the coast of Spain; but the project was so emphatically condemned by the British Government that it was abandoned, and replaced by another scheme, also emanating from Metternich, by which France was to be used for the purpose. Richelieu having died a few months before the assembling of the Congress of Verona, and the office of President of the Council having been allowed to remain in abeyance, the French Ministry was left without a head, and Montmorency, its chief representative at Verona, committed his Government to intervention in Spain, before Villele, who was tardily chosen by Louis XVIII. to fill the vacant chair in the Council, was aware of the nefarious project which the Austrian Minister had devised.

On the 30th of November the representatives of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France at the Congress of Verona signed a protocol, by which it was agreed that a separate note should be presented by each to the Court of Madrid, declaring its abhorrence of the outrages alleged to have been committed by the Government of the revolution, and the thraldom imposed upon the Sovereign; and intimating that it

was impossible for them to regard with indifference the existing condition of Spain, or to refrain from insisting that the Government should be restored to harmony with that of the Great Powers. Three of the Powers—the exception being France—presented notes to the Court of Madrid in this sense; and, not receiving satisfactory replies, withdrew their Ambassadors, and became importunate with the French Government that it should adopt a similar course, according to the engagement entered into at Verona. Villele shrank from the possible danger to the Government of Louis XVIII. of forcible intervention, and accepted an offer of mediation from the British Government in the hope of averting a war. The British and French Ambassadors at Madrid failed, however, in their efforts to induce the Spanish Government to undertake such a modification of the Constitution as would pare down the liberties of Spain to the standard established in Britain and France. Even if the Cabinet of Madrid had been disposed to yield to the demand, the Cortes would have rejected it with the utmost indignation.

The final determination of the French Government to invade Spain and effect a counter-revolution produced great agitation on both sides of the Pyrenees. As will be shown in the next chapter, the Carbonari made common cause with the Communeros, and their leaders strove, by inciting the French troops to revolt, not only to preserve the Spanish Constitution, but to effect a revolution in France. The Communeros aided their efforts by sending over the Pyrenees, for distribution among the French troops concentrated at

Toulouse, addresses penned by Montarlot, a refugee retained by Riego, inciting them to revolt.

The impending intervention intensified the patriotic ardour of the Communeros, and embittered their antagonism to the Government. Their organ, the *Patriota Español*, maintained a vigorous and persistent opposition to the Ministry of the minority, and missed no opportunity of creating political capital for their leaders out of the failures and mistakes of the party in power. The *Zurriaga*,* a smaller paper, edited by Morales, attacked the King and the Ministers with relentless irony and the bitterest acrimony. The disturbances which occurred during the winter in Madrid, Pampeluna, Barcelona, and Valencia, and which were attributed to the priests, increased the prevailing discord, and were made the subject of inquiry by a committee of the Cortes, resulting in a farther discredit of a King who was longing for his extrication by foreign bayonets from Constitutional trammels, and Ministers who, however good their intentions, were rendered powerless, on the one hand by their loyalty to a faithless King, on the other by want of harmony with the majority.

Repeated efforts were made to reconcile the differences between the two sections into which the Constitutionalists were unhappily divided; but they all failed, and the state of the country became every day more deplorable. Tumults broke out at Cadiz and other places, and on the 25th of February, 1823, a Communero deputation, consisting of two military

* Spanish for *scourge*.

officers and a priest, the former representing respectively the regulars and the militia, obtained an audience of the King, and warned him of a design to bring about a new revolution on the 1st of March, for the purpose of deposing him, and establishing a regency. They assured him that the Communeros, whom they represented as numbering forty-five thousand, were on the alert, and would frustrate the design, being resolved to defend the Constitution and the Crown against all attacks.

Ferdinand had no partiality for his Ministers, Constitutionalists of all shades being equally the objects of his aversion and distrust; and he was easily induced to dismiss them in the hope that an infusion of ultra-Liberalism in the Ministry would avert the gathering storm until the French crossed the Pyrenees. In this hope he called Estrada to his councils, and associated with him General Torrijos, a zealous Communero, as Minister for War, and Moral, who had the repute of belonging to that Society, as Minister of the Interior. These concessions did not satisfy the Communeros, and the Cortes, by a Parliamentary manœuvre, prevented the new Ministers from assuming the functions of government. Estrada and his colleagues, with the exception of Torrijos, thereupon resigned; and Ferdinand accepted their resignation as a body, but declined to part with Estrada.

The experience of the fifty years which have elapsed since that critical period of Spanish history renders it very doubtful whether the Constitution could have been long maintained, even if a counter-revolution had not been effected by French arms. The King was faithless, bigoted, and incapable almost

to the point of imbecility, and therefore a mere puppet in the hands of the priests. The Constitution, which he regarded as a degradation of the monarchical office, allowed him power enough to clog its working for the welfare of the State, and the Ministers nominated in conformity with it had not the confidence of either himself or the Cortes. The priests regarded the Constitution with abhorrence, and the masses were too ignorant and demoralised to understand it and to appreciate the liberties which it conferred. The Constitutional cause was not, therefore, regarded as the popular cause; it was supported only by the better educated and more intelligent of the people, whose enlightenment and enthusiasm prevented them from conceiving the idea that the majority of the nation was too ignorant and bigoted to regard it otherwise than with indifference or dislike.

Under such a Sovereign as Ferdinand representative institutions could only result in a struggle between the Crown and the Cortes, which was averted temporarily by the interposition of Ministers who were theoretically the representatives of the latter. But if the struggle had been prolonged, it must have ended in either the triumph of the Communeros or a counter-revolution in the interest of absolutism; and the experience of the last fifty years renders it almost certain that the latter event would have followed the former.

The faithlessness of the King and the incapacity of the Ministers became evident when the French armies poured through the passes of the Pyrenees in the early days of April. Ferdinand became anxious to leave Madrid, and scarcely any preparations were

made by the Government to resist an invasion which had been impending since the deliberations of Troppau. Of the Generals under whom the inadequate and ill-provided armies of Spain took the field, only Riego and Mina displayed either courage or capacity for command. 'As the French advanced, the Spanish forces retired, and the Government proposed that the King and the Cortes should remove to Seville. The Communeros opposed this design, and a plan to prevent its execution was concerted; but dissensions arose among them in the hour of trial, and when the invaders drew near Madrid, the seat of the Court and the Legislature was transferred to the Andalusian capital.

On the 23rd of May the vanguard of the French army entered Madrid, and on the 25th the Duke of Angoulême made his public entry into the capital, the inhabitants of which were assured by a proclamation that he came amongst them with the most benevolent designs. This announcement was followed by the establishment of a Provisional Government, at the head of which the Duke of Infantado was placed. Some desultory efforts were made to oppose the march of the French towards Seville, but in the end Balesteros, O'Donnell, and Morillo, who held the chief commands, capitulated, and resistance in the field ceased. The Cortes, when the Constitutional cause became desperate, declared the King incapable of reigning through mental imbecility, and appointed a Provisional Government under the presidency of Valdez. They then removed to Cadiz, holding the King under restraint. The French occupied Seville on the 21st of June, and then marched upon Cadiz,

having in less than three months traversed the whole extent of Spain.

The Duke of Angoulême offered to guarantee a general amnesty, and the concession of a Constitution that would assimilate the political institutions of the kingdom to those of France; but the Provisional Government installed by the Cortes refused to submit, and Cadiz was subjected, in consequence, to the horrors of a siege. The defenders prolonged their resistance for three months, surrendering on the 1st of October, when the Provisional Government was dissolved, and Ferdinand restored to the exercise of absolute sovereignty. The first use which the execrable despot made by his liberty was to order the arrest and execution of Riego, who was hanged in a most barbarous manner, though Ferdinand had previously professed to regard him as a friend, and to admit him to his inmost confidence. Thus ended the earthly career of one of the most heroic men whom Spain has ever produced.

Torrijos escaped to Gibraltar, or he would probably have shared the fate of Riego. He avoided it only for the time. In 1831, when the downfall of the Bourbons in France had revived the hopes of the friends of liberty in every part of Europe, he entered into correspondence with some officers of the Spanish army, who treacherously lured him, with several more refugees, to Spanish territory, and then betrayed him. Torrijos and his companions were surrounded and captured, tried by court-martial, and condemned to death, which sentence was executed with barbarous haste upon the whole of the prisoners.

All the acts of the Constitutional Government were

declared null and void, and despotism restored upon its old basis. The Duke of Angoulême was urgent with Ferdinand for the grant of a general amnesty, but he prevailed only so far as to induce the tyrant to pardon a few of those who had taken very small parts in the exciting events of the two years preceding the French intervention. The amnesty proclaimed by Ferdinand was nominally general, but there were so many exceptions, including nearly the whole of those who had worked in the Constitutional cause, from the revolt at Leon to the deposition at Seville, that it resembled rather an act of proscription.

END OF VOL. I.

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THE

SECRET SOCIETIES

OF

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.

THE

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OF

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION,

1776—1876.

BY

THOMAS FROST,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF THOMAS LORD LYTTELTON," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

SECRET SOCIETIES

OF

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFORMED CARBONARI.

TWO results of great importance in the progress of the European revolution proceeded from the events that occurred at Naples in 1820–21. One was the reorganisation of the Carbonari, consequent upon the publicity given to the system when it had brought about the revolution, and the secresy in which it had hitherto been enveloped was no longer deemed necessary; the other was the extension of the system beyond the Alps. When the Neapolitan revolution had been effected, the Carbonari emerged from their mystery, published their constitution and statutes, and ceased to conceal their patents and their cards of membership. In the Papal States, in Lombardy, and in Piedmont, the veil of secresy was maintained for a little time longer, partly through the adoption by the Carbonari of those portions of the peninsula of symbols and pass-words different from those of the Nea-

politan lodges, partly by the formation of the various societies of the Adelphi, the Guelphs, the Brother Protectors, and the Italian Federati, which were similar, and yet not the same, though all holding the same principles, and having a common object. But after the collapse of the Piedmontese revolution, so much doubt and fear existed among the leaders as to the extent to which the secrets of the system were known that they were all effaced, and consigned to oblivion. The scattered directors of the movement drew together the broken threads of the conspiracy as soon as they were able, but with a new nomenclature and a new symbolism.

The dispersion of the Carbonaro leaders had, at the same time, the effect of extending the system in France, where it had been introduced towards the end of 1820, and creating centres of revolutionary agitation in the foreign cities in which they temporarily located themselves. General Pepe proceeded to Barcelona when the counter-revolution was imminent at Naples, and his life was no longer safe there; and to the same city went several of the Piedmontese revolutionists when their country was Austrianized after the same lawless fashion. Scalvini and Ugoni took refuge at Geneva; others of the proscribed proceeded to London. This dispersion, and the progress which Carbonarism was making in France, suggested to General Pepe the idea of an international secret society, which should combine for a common purpose the advanced political reformers of all the European States.

Shortly after his arrival at Madrid, to which city he proceeded from Barcelona, he propounded to two

or three ultra-Liberal deputies the plan of this society, the object of which, he says, "was to enable the members to correspond, and by these means preclude the possibility of a renewal of that want of union which had been experienced amongst the most noted patriots of Spain and Portugal, Naples and Piedmont. Several deputies of the Cortes were inclined to regard such an association as extremely beneficial to the public cause, more especially in their own peninsula, where a great want of concord existed between the Portuguese and the Spaniards. The society was accordingly founded; several members of the Cortes formed part of it, as well as General Ballesteros, Councillor of State. I still preserve the regulations of this society, the great object of which was to open a communication between the most enlightened patriots of the different cities in Europe. It was decided that I should exert myself to give it extension in Lisbon, London, and Paris; and that, in the event of my success, other members should proceed to propagate it over Italy and Germany."*

Having organised in Madrid the first circle of the Constitutional Society of European Patriots, Pepe proceeded to Lisbon, where he was even more successful in his efforts than in the Spanish capital. Two of the Ministers, and several Councillors of State and members of the Cortes signified their adhesion, and before Pepe left a flourishing circle was formed, under the direction of Almeida-Moraes, the president of the Cortes. From Lisbon the general proceeded by sea to London, where, as he says, he soon found that "a

* Memoirs of General Pepe.

secret society in England among men of mind is a thing quite out of the order of probability." He mentioned the society to a few, but met with no encouragement. The Duke of Sussex and Sir Robert Wilson read the statutes and regulations of the society, but only as a matter of curiosity. Lord Holland put them aside, with the remark, "I am not fond of secret things; I am apt, at the House of Lords, to tell all I know."

Pepe next opened a correspondence with Lafayette, who hailed the proposed international organisation of the secret societies as "a Holy Alliance opposed to that of despotism,"* and at once associated himself with it. He, with Manuel and Argenson, the triumvirate that was supposed to have directed the Associated Patriots of 1816, were earnestly engaged at that time in the reorganisation of the Carbonari of France upon a new system, which promised more perfect impenetrability; and Buonarotti was similarly engaged at Geneva, with a view to renewed operations in Italy. Under the new organisation, the movement was directed in each country by a central junta, the members of which were unknown to all but a few. The secondary juntas had no correspondence with each other, nor any cognisance of their respective meetings or composition. All the affairs of the association were under the supreme control of the central junta, whose power, radiating through the several circles, was implicitly obeyed by all the initiated. Members were enrolled with the utmost care, and only

* This idea, "la Sainte Alliance des Peuples," is preserved also in one of the songs of Béranger.

after minute inquiries concerning their character and antecedents, so as to avoid, if possible, the admission of spies, or persons who might be readily seduced into treachery. The meetings were held at night, in lonely houses and other places where they were not likely to attract attention. All orders, resolutions, &c., were transmitted verbally, and in public the members communicated, when necessary, by signs.

In the formation of new lodges, two members of the Grand Lodge initiated the first member, and made him its president, without acquainting him with their rank in the society; and at the same time constituted themselves respectively its vice-president and censor. As the vice-president alone was in communication with the Grand Lodge, and the censor controlled the proceedings in the provincial and local lodges, the Grand Lodge was thus enabled to keep all the secrets of the society within itself. The number of members forming a lodge was limited to twenty, in order to lessen the chances of danger from treachery; and as communication between the lodges, or members of different lodges, was forbidden, any discovery that might be made by the police could proceed no further than the lodge in which it was made. As a further means of baffling the police, a double organisation was introduced, the society being divided for military purposes into legions, cohorts, centuries, and manipules.

The French police never could discover whether the system was introduced from Piedmont or from Spain; but they were convinced that its disseminators proceeded from one or other of those countries. They were wrong in both conjectures, however, the truth

being that it was introduced by two young men, Dugied and Joubert, who had been initiated at Naples.* These, on their return to Paris, initiated five others—namely, Bazard, Buchez, Flotard, Carriol, and Limperani. A copy of the statutes of Carbonarism had been brought from Naples by Dugied, who, with Limperani, translated them into French, with the view of founding the system in France. The religious tone that pervaded Carbonarism among the Italians did not harmonise, however, with the ideas so widely prevalent among the educated men of France, and the statutes were referred for modification to Bazard, Buchez, and Flotard, who, as well as Dugied and Joubert, were Freemasons. All Catholic allusions having been removed, the code was adopted, and the Grand Lodge of France was formed by the adhesion of the seven individuals whose names have been given.

The system spread so rapidly that the founders began to distrust their ability to direct it, and consulted as to the course to be pursued in order to procure the adhesion, as directors of the movement, of one or two of the Liberal leaders. Bazard suggested an application to Lafayette, with whom he was acquainted; and, with the approbation of the Grand Lodge, the office of Grand Master of the society was offered to that veteran revolutionist, who had been one of the pioneers of liberty in both hemispheres. Lafayette accepted it, and the adhesion of Manuel, Argenson, Corcelles, and other leading Liberals followed. It was then resolved to extend the system to

* Louis Blanc's History of Ten Years.

the provinces, and with that view Dugied undertook a mission of propagandism to Dijon and Maçon, Joubert visited Strasburg and Colmar, Flotard went to Tours, Saumur, and Rochelle, and an associate named Rouen took Nantes for his centre of operations.

It has been doubted whether Lafayette, Manuel, and Argenson, with others who were supposed to be the leaders of the Carbonari in France, were actually the chiefs of the society; and, with regard to Manuel at least, the point is not susceptible of positive demonstration. There are, in all countries, men of superior station who, when a collision between the people and the Government is impending, are aware of what is going on, and hold themselves prepared to step to the front when the movement has advanced to a point at which they can do so with advantage to the cause and safety to themselves; but who take care not to commit themselves to it prematurely, or to allow any trace to exist of their connexion with it. This has been thought by some to have been the real position of the individuals whom others have asserted to have been the actual leaders of the Carbonari, as they had previously been held to be of the Associated Patriots; but though there is no absolute proof that they were the Grand Elect there can be very little, if any, moral doubt upon the point.

The initiations in France were most numerous among the students of the universities and public schools, subaltern and non-commissioned officers of the army, and superior artisans. Every member was required to provide himself with a musket and bayonet, and twenty rounds of ball cartridge. No popular

assemblage took place in 1821 without a considerable number of the Carbonari being present, in order to be ready to take advantage of any opportunity that might occur of creating a tumult favourable to the attainment of their object. When the King opened the Chambers or reviewed the troops in the gardens of the Tuileries, the Carbonari were on the alert; for the seizure of the royal family formed a part of their plan, as it had done of that of the Associated Patriots.

In the first ardour of their association, and before they were sufficiently organised for such an enterprise, a plan was arranged for surprising Vincennes, corrupting the garrison of Paris, inciting the masses of the capital to insurrection, and attacking the Tuileries. Nantil and Capès, captains in one of the regiments forming the garrison of Paris, were to lead out their companies and direct the revolt in the capital; and the leaders of the movement were to raise the provinces in the event of the rising being successful in Paris. Lafayette retired to his country residence to prepare his department to second the movement at Vincennes; Argenson went to his ironworks at Mulhouse, where he employed a large number of workmen, among whom his benevolence, no less than his political sentiments, rendered him extremely popular; Corcelles, the friend and relative of Lafayette, and a man of fiery temperament and indomitable will, proceeded to Lyons; and St. Aignan, another of the conspirators, to Nantes. When all was prepared, an accidental explosion at Vincennes caused the police, civil and military, to be on the alert, and the outbreak was deferred. Nantil had attracted to himself the

suspicions of the police, and he fled; his regiment was removed from Paris, and the scheme of the conspirators was for the time laid aside.

In 1821, the chiefs of the movement being Lafayette, Manuel, and Argenson, the Grand Lodge of Paris numbered among its members Dupont, Corcelles, Mérilhou, Constant, Rey, Bazard, Buchez, Kœchlin, Schonen, and Arnold Scheffer; and the initiated elsewhere comprised Generals Carbineau, Pajol, Tarayre, Bachelu, Merlin, Maronsin, and Lafitte, and Colonels Fabvier, Caron, Ordener, Deutzel, and Brice. Towards the end of the year the plan of an insurrection was matured, and in order to distract the Government, and induce the belief that the ramifications of the plot were more extensive than they really were, it was determined to raise the flag of revolt simultaneously at several places, some of which, were hundreds of miles apart. These points were Neu Brisach, Béfort, Colmar, Mulhouse, Toulon, Marseilles, Rochelle, Thouars, Saumur, and Nantes. The night of the 29th of December was fixed for the enterprise, which was to commence in the garrisons of Alsace. A proclamation was drawn up by Bazard, subsequently a chief of the St. Simonians, announcing the establishment of a republic and the formation of a provisional government, consisting of Lafayette, Manuel, Argenson, Constant, and Lafitte.

The movement was to commence at Neu Brisach and Béfort, whence the military Carbonari were to march upon Colmar, where Colonel Caron was to join them with as many men of his regiment of dragoons as he could induce to follow him. From Colmar the insurgents were to advance upon Strasburg and

Nancy, intercept the communications with Paris, proclaim the provisional government, and await the results of the movement in the south and the west. On the eve of the great festival of the Christian year Lafayette left Paris for his country house, and Argenson and Kœchlin for their works at Mulhouse and Colmar. It was arranged that Lafayette should proceed to Béfort at the last moment, but he failed to present himself, representing as his excuse to the emissaries sent to him from the lodges of Neu Brisach, Béfort, Colmar, and Mulhouse, that he was solemnising the anniversary of the death of his wife, an event of which the excuse requires us to suppose that he was oblivious until after measures had been concerted for the insurrection. This delay produced irresolution in some quarters, and counter-orders and mistakes in others, the rising having to be deferred, in consequence, to the night of the 1st of January, 1822.

On that day Béfort was filled with the Carbonari, whose numbers escaped attention from the ever-watchful police, owing to the festive customs with which, among the French, the new year is ushered in. Lafayette was known to be on his way, accompanied by his son, and many members of the Paris lodges had arrived, including Corcelles and Bazard, Armand Carrel, afterwards so famous as a journalist, then a lieutenant of the regiment garrisoning Neu Brisach; and Colonel Pailhés, of the disbanded Imperial Guard. At night the conspirators put on their uniforms, armed themselves with swords and pistols, wrapped themselves in their cloaks, and eagerly awaited the signal of revolt. Adjutant Tellier assembled the sergeants

of the garrison in his room, and directed them, as if by order of the colonel, to have their men ready in their rooms, in heavy marching order, and prepared to turn out at the first tap of the drum. By the initiated this was understood, but the sergeants were not all of the number, and two of them went to the captain of their company, and asked the meaning of the order. The captain, knowing no more of the matter than themselves, could only tell them that he supposed the colonel had a good reason for the order; but he felt uneasy about it, and when the sergeants had left him, he went to the colonel, who, knowing that he had given no such order, acquainted the commandant, Toustain, with the circumstance. Toustain divined a plot, and instantly took measures to counteract it.

In the meantime the two sergeants had returned to their barracks, and one of them had told Tellier that the captain knew nothing about the order that had been given. Tellier saw immediately that the plot would be suspected, and hastened to warn the officers who were engaged in it. They immediately took off their uniforms, and hurried to the principal gate of the town, the military guard at which was commanded that night by Lieutenant Manoury, who was one of the initiated. The first arrivals had scarcely passed through the gate when Toustain came up with a detachment, arrested a group of officers who were conversing with Manoury, and, consigning them to the guard-room, traversed the outer works, and overtook the fugitives, who had kept on the high road, in order to intercept and warn Lafayette. He called to them to surrender, and advanced towards them, when

he was shot by Lieutenant Peugnot, who, with his companions, immediately took to flight.

The soldiers raised Toustain, who at first seemed dead; but the Cross of the Legion of Honour which he wore on his breast had prevented the ball from penetrating, and he was able to return to the gate. Manoury was then found to have fled from his post, accompanied by the prisoners; and the commandant could then only turn out the troops, and take precautions against a tumult or a surprise. The police were immediately on the alert, but all the conspirators had fled; and some papers which were seized at an inn in the town, and which it was supposed would throw some light on the conspiracy, were recovered by a bribe, and burned. Corcelles and Bazard had fled towards Paris, and at the distance of a few leagues from Béfort met the carriage in which Lafayette and his son were travelling in the opposite direction, confident of the success of a movement which had been so well planned. The carriage was immediately turned from the highway, and driven to Gray, where Lafayette and his son remained for some days, at the house of an old friend, the ex-deputy Martin, as if they had gone there on a visit.

Corcelles and Bazard went on to Paris, and no clue was found that could connect either them or Lafayette with the conspiracy. Carrel got safely out of Béfort, and rejoined his regiment at Neu Brisach. Pailhés escaped to Colmar, where he and Buchez were arrested on suspicion. Tellier and a sergeant named Watebled were traced to a publichouse near Bâle, where the sergeant committed suicide by shooting himself with

a pistol on the entrance of the gendarmes, and Tellier was arrested.

A few days after the abortive movement at Béfort, Colonel Caron, who had conceived the idea of delivering Pailhés and Buchez from prison, and initiating a movement of which he should be the hero, led his regiment from one village to another, endeavouring to raise the peasantry in the name of Napoleon II., which he thought would be for them a more potent spell than that of the Republic. Unfortunately for himself, his visits to Pailhés and Buchez in prison had caused him to be suspected; and a lieutenant of his regiment, who had been sounded by him, was induced by the police to seem to concur in his design, and concert with them his arrest when he had irretrievably committed himself. When, therefore, Caron had pronounced his charm in vain, he was surrendered by his soldiers, tried by court-martial, and shot in the fosse of the citadel. General Foy protested warmly in the Chamber of Deputies against the manner in which Caron had been led on to his death by the detestable intrigues of the police.

The failure at Béfort prevented any movement being made in other places, and no traces of the conspiracy were discovered by the police. No connexion could be found between the conspirators of Béfort and suspected persons elsewhere, and the Government had to be content with the prosecution of Pailhés, Buchez, Tellier, and a few others, who, being convicted on very slight evidence, were condemned to three years' imprisonment.

The execution of the conspirators' plan had only

been deferred, and towards the end of February the revolt broke out almost simultaneously at Thouars, Rochelle, Marseilles, and Toulon. General Berton, who had served with distinction in the Spanish campaigns, left Parthenay on the night of the 23rd, at the head of a body of retired officers and soldiers, and surprised Thouars, where he openly hoisted the tricoloured flag, and issued a proclamation announcing the fall of the monarchy and the formation of a provisional Government, in which, on this occasion, the name of General Foy was substituted for that of Lafitte. Early on the following morning he marched on Saumur, where his design was frustrated by the energy of the mayor. He fell back, therefore, upon Thouars, whence, on finding his little force falling away from him, he fled towards Rochefort, where he concealed himself in the marshes.

Bories, a sub-officer of the army, had in the meantime set out from Pau, with several privates of his regiment, and arrived at Rochelle, to take part in the movement there. He was betrayed, however, by one of his accomplices, while concerting with General Berton a combined movement on Saumur, and arrested, with three sergeants of the garrison of Rochelle, named Raoux, Goubin, and Pommier, upon whom were found cards of affiliation and daggers marked with their respective numbers on the register of the Carbonaro lodge of which they were members. The movements at Marseilles and Toulon were as abortive as those of Thouars and Rochelle; but the news of these movements threw the workmen of Lyons into a revolutionary ferment, and caused a tumult which continued for several days, and was not suppressed

without much bloodshed, but which does not appear to have had any connexion with the Carbonari. At Marseilles and Toulon, however, distinct traces of the conspiracy were discovered, and at the former place Captain Vallée was arrested on the charge of participation in it.

From the statements of Bories and the Rochelle sergeants, and the information given by the man who had betrayed them, the police obtained a clue to the conspiracy, and had their former suspicions concerning its leaders confirmed. The Royalists clamoured loudly for the arrest of Lafayette, Manuel, and Argenson, and Pepe says that he "was in constant expectation of hearing that Lafayette had been arrested, for he had been fully aware of the proceedings of Berton, whom he had assisted with his advice and with money." The Villele Ministry shrank from that step, partly because there was not sufficient evidence of the participation of the suspected deputies in the conspiracy, and partly because they foresaw the probability of worse consequences from making political martyrs of them than from leaving them at large. The affair assumed so much importance, however, from the evidence which had been obtained of a wide-spread conspiracy, that Bories and the Rochelle sergeants were removed for trial to Paris. Colonel Caron and Captain Vallée were tried by court-martial, convicted, and shot, and General Berton and five others were condemned to the guillotine, but, on the intercession of the Duchess of Angoulême, four of them were spared the infliction of the capital sentence. Caffé, a physician, committed suicide in prison, and only Berton therefore went to the scaffold, behaving there

with courage and fortitude, his last words being, "*Vive la France! Vive la Liberté!*"

The trial of Bories and his companions occupied several days, and excited the most profound interest. The Court was crowded every day, and the proceedings created a visible agitation among all classes; while Lafayette, Manuel, Argenson, and Constant made the hall of the Chamber of Deputies ring with their denunciations of the Government, against whom they boldly declared all measures to be justifiable. The intrepid bearing of the accused enhanced the interest inspired by their position. Bories assumed the entire responsibility of the movement at Rochelle, but the Villele Ministry, considering it necessary to act with rigour, and being irritated by the constant attacks of the Liberal deputies, had determined upon the death of all the accused. After their conviction, an attempt was made to procure their escape by bribing a gaoler; but the man, while pretending to be corrupt, gave information to the authorities, and, on the money being taken to the prison, the bearer was arrested by the police while counting it. It was then resolved in the Carbonaro lodges to rescue the condemned men while on their way to the place of execution, by surrounding the carts in which the condemned are taken to the Place de Grêve, cutting the cords by which their arms are bound, forcing a way through the troops, and conveying the prisoners to a place of safety, where they could be concealed until they could be conveyed out of Paris in disguise. This bold enterprise was to be directed by Colonel Fabvier, an officer of determined courage, who had served on the staff of Marshal Marmont; but, though thousands

of men were ready to carry it out, they were overawed by the formidable display of military force which the Government deemed necessary, and the rescue of the prisoners was not attempted. The condemned men submitted to their fate with calmness and intrepidity, and their fate caused their memory to be long cherished by the revolutionists of France.

This conspiracy created much uneasiness in the minds of Louis and his Ministers; and, as the Carbonaro lodges were found to be most numerous in the departments of the west and the south, it was supposed that the system had been introduced from Spain. This idea constituted an additional motive for the intervention in that country which was proposed to the Holy Alliance shortly afterwards. An outbreak of yellow fever at Barcelona was made the pretext for establishing, at the base of the Pyrenees, a strong sanitary cordon, which was swelled by degrees to a military cordon, so that, by the time the Congress of Verona assembled, a large body of troops was massed around Toulouse. It was there arranged that France should play in Spain the part which Austria had played in Italy in the preceding year; and, in the event of possible danger to the Bourbon dynasty in France from any reverse, the armies of Austria and Russia were to cross the Rhine, and restore order in that country while the Duke of Angoulême effected a counter-revolution in Spain.

The time had now come for bringing into operation the international organisation of the secret societies which had been devised by General Pepe. Zea, an agent of the revolutionary party in Colombia, was at this time in London, where he had succeeded in pro-

curing a loan of two millions for the purposes of his party; and he was in communication with Pepe, who, as we have seen, had opened a correspondence with Lafayette. The hopes of the Italian Carbonari had been for some time centred in Spain; and the fear of French intervention in that country which had been excited by the concentration of troops at Toulouse made them anxious for the preservation of the Spanish Constitution, and desirous, in the same degree, of a revolution in France. The French Carbonari, on their part, thought that a revolt among the troops at Toulouse would bring about the fall of Louis XVIII., and save the Constitution both in Spain and Portugal. Some correspondence on this subject between Pepe and Lafayette resulted in the authorisation of the latter by Zea to conclude a secret treaty with the Spanish Government, by which the independence of Colombia and Mexico was to be acknowledged, and those republics were to furnish a body of troops and a loan of four millions, in the event of war between Spain and France. One half of this sum was already in Zea's hands, and the capitalists who had furnished it had promised to provide the other moiety as soon as Spain should have acknowledged the independence of Colombia and Mexico.

These preliminaries having been arranged, Pepe sent Colonel Pisa to Toulouse with a sum of two thousand pounds, obtained from Zea, to be applied by a General whom he does not name, but who, I have reason to believe, was General Lafitte, to the purposes of the conspiracy. Pisa ventured to proceed from Toulouse to Paris, where he seems to have been recognised by the Duchess of Berri, who had seen

him at Naples; and the famous detective, Vidocq, was immediately instructed to look for him. General Cobrianchi, who had also been on Pepe's staff in the Abruzzi, and was now residing in Paris, concealed Pisa in his house, however, until an opportunity could be found for him to leave France undetected. He conveyed to Pepe a letter from Lafayette, to be laid before the leaders of the Liberal party in Spain, urging them to demand the recognition of the independence of Colombia and Mexico, and setting forth the advantages which would accrue to the cause of Constitutional Government everywhere, and especially in the Iberian Peninsula.

Armed with this letter, Pepe went to Madrid, viâ Lisbon, and convened a meeting of the leading members of the Cortes at the house of Riego, the hero of 1812. Ballesteros, Isturitz, Galiani, and about a dozen others attended, and to them Pepe read Lafayette's letter, and expounded his views. The deputies listened attentively, but the proposition fell dead; the Constitutional cause needed money, and might need the support of a French revolution, but Galiani assured Pepe that the recognition of the independence of the revolted Spanish vice-royalties would be too unpopular a measure to be thought of for a moment. This decision, which was concurred in by the other deputies present, was a great disappointment to all the parties to the scheme. It left the destinies of the Spanish American provinces to the arbitrament of the sword, diminished the chances of the preservation of the Spanish Constitution, and prevented any more of the money raised by Zea being applied to the purposes of the Carbonari.

The Franco-Spanish war was opposed by the leaders of that Society in the Chamber of Deputies with the utmost energy, and more violent and exciting scenes have never been witnessed in that Assembly than were enacted during the month of February, and especially during the early days of March, 1823. These disorders reached their culminating point on the 1st of March, when Manuel, the boldest and most eloquent member of his party, delivered an outburst of impassioned oratory which excited his opponents to fury, and was repeatedly interrupted by their expressions of dissent and indignation.

"If," he said in conclusion, "you would not endanger the life of King Ferdinand, beware of reproducing events which carried to the scaffold those who excite in you so keen an interest. It was because foreigners interfered in our own Revolution that Louis XVI. was crushed to the dust. It was when the misfortunes of the Royal family attracted the sympathy of foreigners that revolutionary France, feeling that it must defend itself by new forces——."

He was listened to no longer. The Royalists sprang to their feet howling with rage, and menaced him with their clenched hands. For several minutes nothing was heard but the confused din of a hundred mingled voices yelling, "Order!" "Turn him out!" "To the door with him!" The stentorian voice of Hyde de Neuville at length made itself heard above the uproar.

"This outrage must be avenged!" he exclaimed. "The horror of the allusion is too clear."

"It is a provocation of death to Ferdinand!" exclaimed another deputy.

Manuel attempted to complete his sentence, but his

voice was drowned in the roar of shouts of execration proceeding from a hundred voices. The President of the Chamber put on his hat, but even that significant act had no effect in abating the storm. The calm attitude of Manuel, who remained standing in the tribune, seemed to increase the fury of his opponents, who yelled and gesticulated until hoarseness and exhaustion produced a lull. Then a committee was nominated to report upon the conduct of the obnoxious deputy, and the Chamber adjourned.

On the following day the committee presented their report, recommending the expulsion of Manuel from the Chamber for his language; and a motion to that effect was immediately made. He was allowed to speak in his defence; but he said nothing that was calculated, in the slightest degree, to mitigate the rage of his opponents. He maintained that, having been sent to that Assembly by the people, he could not be rightfully excluded from it; and this view was taken also by Royer-Collard, Girardin, and other members of the Opposition. The motion for his expulsion was carried, however, by an overwhelming majority.

On the memorable 4th Manuel entered the hall, and took his accustomed place on the extreme left. Murmurs immediately arose from the right and the centre, and Ravez, the President, requested him to retire. The refractory deputy protested that he would not abandon his place, unless compelled by violence. Ravez desired the ushers to remove him; but the Liberal deputies gathered round him, and prevented them from approaching. Some of the Royalists seemed eager to rush to the support of the ushers, but

the scandal of a fight was avoided by the order of Ravez for a file of the National Guards on duty to be called. Several of that force entered, with an officer named Mercier at their head; but the Liberal deputies stood firm around Manuel, and Lafayette exhorted the National Guards not to dishonour themselves by dragging a representative of the people from the floor of the Assembly. They hesitated, and Mercier, on being again called upon by the President to do his duty, turned about and marched his file out of the hall, amidst the cheers of the Liberal deputies, which were loudly echoed by the crowd which had gathered outside.

Then, while the majority yelled, stamped, and gesticulated in the most outrageous manner, Ravez sent for a detachment of gendarmes. The appearance of these men evoked a cry of deprecation from the left, and Manuel again declared that he would yield only to force. Four gendarmes then, in obedience to the officer commanding the detachment, ascended to the bench on which Manuel was standing, seized him by the arms, and dragged him to the floor. He was then marched out of the hall in the midst of the detachment, followed by all the Liberal members. An immense throng received him with approving acclamations, and escorted him to his house in a manner which gave his expulsion the appearance of a popular triumph.

A month after this extraordinary scene was enacted, the French army, nominally commanded by the Duke of Angoulême, but directed in reality by Marshal Victor, crossed the Spanish frontier, where the Carbonari made their last effort to avert the extinction of

liberty in Spain. About four hundred Carbonari refugees from France and Italy, under the command of Colonel Fabvier, posted themselves on the Bidassoa, wearing the uniform of the army of the French Empire, and displaying the tricoloured flag, in the hope that the invaders would not fire on a symbol consecrated by so many glorious scenes. But General Valin, who commanded the vanguard of the invading army, sent a flying battery against them, and at the second volley they dispersed into the mountains. Constitutional Government met the same fate in Spain as in Italy, and the victory of the Holy Alliance was complete.

Had the efforts of the Carbonari been attended with success in France, the struggle for liberty would have been renewed in Italy, to which country Pepe had an ultimate eye while endeavouring to support the constitutional cause in Spain. Buonarotti was in communication during 1822 with the chiefs of the Carbonari in France, and several visits to that country were made in the early part of the year by Alexandre Andryane, whose subsequent mission to Milan resulted so unfortunately for himself. The Carbonari of Italy had great hopes from the diplomacy of Pepe, and the failure of the abortive insurrection in France did not suffice to crush them. The French intervention in Spain might prove a disaster for the Government of Louis XVIII., and the establishment of a republic in France, with Lafayette at the head of affairs, following the victory of constitutionalism in Spain, would be a guarantee that the Austrians would not again be allowed to intervene in Italy as they had done in 1821. So reasoned Buonarotti and his friends ; but they were not in the secrets of the Holy Alliance.

Towards the end of 1822, Andryane again left Geneva and proceeded to Milan, in order to rekindle the courage of the Carbonari, and prepare them for a renewal of the struggle. He was furnished by Buonarotti with letters of introduction, instructions, ciphers, &c., but, fearful of danger in passing the frontier, he left those papers at Bellinzona, in the care of a Carbonaro refugee, who undertook to forward them safely. From the information he received on his way, and on his arrival at Milan, Andryane was convinced that nothing could then be attempted with any prospect of success. Count Confalionieri and many more of the most distinguished men of Lombardy had been arrested, and the Imperial Commission appointed to try political offenders was spreading terror and dismay through the country.

Andryane wrote to Bellinzona without delay, to prevent his papers being forwarded; but it was too late. The packet arrived as he was preparing for a tour of pleasure through Italy, and the Austrian police almost immediately seized it in his room. He was thereupon arrested, and conveyed to the prison of Santa Margherita, where he was shortly afterwards interrogated by the Chief Commissioner, Salvotti. Andryane bequeathed to posterity a fearful picture of the sufferings endured by the imprisoned Carbonari,* which might be thought exaggerated if it was not corroborated by the narratives of Pellico and Maroncelli. They were lodged in dark cells, deprived of books and writing materials, enfeebled by bad and insufficient food, and harassed by daily examinations,

* Memoirs of a Prisoner of State in the Fortress of Spielberg.

in which Salvotti, setting at nought every principle of justice, acted at once as prosecuting counsel and judge, and employed every means of persuasion and intimidation to extort disclosures with a view to the crimination of others. These examinations, despotically conducted, and repeated every day during several months, at all hours of the day or night, as the Commissioner thought proper, constituted the whole of the proceedings which the Austrian Government dignified with the name of trials, and by which Metternich and the Emperor vainly endeavoured to crush out the spirit which animated the Italians to resistance to their rule.

Andryane was repeatedly assured that his own fate was already determined by the papers found in his possession, that he would be hanged unless he revealed all that he knew, and that there was no appeal from the sentences of the Commission. He knew but little, however, and the little he did know he was determined not to divulge. While subject to these interrogatories, he found relief from the terrible mental suffering which they induced in the discovery of the mode of communication adopted by the political prisoners confined in the adjoining cells. This consisted in tapping on the intermediate wall, the number of taps corresponding with the place that each letter occupies in the alphabet. By this means they were enabled to hold long and frequent conversations.

After eight months of mental torture, the examinations came to a close, and the prisoners were removed to the prison of Porta Nuova to await their sentence. Andryane soon discovered that the inmate of one of the cells adjoining his own was the illustrious Con-

falionieri, with whom he had long been anxious to be brought into connexion, and in company with whom, as he had been confidentially informed by one of the Commissioners, he was to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. Communication was established between them by the wall-rapping system, and it was Confalionieri from whom Andryane received a second intimation of his doom. He was lying awake, about the second hour of the morning, when he heard some taps on the wall, and rose to listen. "The sentences have been confirmed by the Emperor," tapped Confalionieri. "They will be executed in a few days. I shall be hanged."

"In the name of Heaven," returned Andryane, "tell me whether I am condemned to the same punishment as yourself?"

There was no answer; and Andryane rightly interpreted his friend's silence as an affirmative. Both had been condemned to death, and the Emperor had confirmed the sentences; but the father and the wife of Confalionieri, and the sister of Andryane, were making energetic efforts to obtain a commutation of the sentences, and, backed as they were by the Empress and the Viceroy, by a petition from the Lombard nobles, and from the Archbishop of Milan and his clergy, their efforts were successful. But the condemned men were to be exposed on the pillory, and then to be imprisoned for life in the fortress of Spielberg.

On his arrival at that dismal fortress in the vicinity of Brunn, with which the world has been made familiar by the pathetic narrative of Pellico, Andryane was confined in a dark and narrow cell, fettered, and habited in the garb of an ordinary convict. The gaolers, more

humane than the rulers, supplied him with a pen and ink and some scraps of paper; and a convict, who was allowed to wait upon the prisoners, opened a communication for him with Pellico and Maroncelli. He had not been long in the fortress when this man brought him the following note:—

"We are ignorant of your name; but your misfortunes and ours are the same, and on this ground we address you. Let us know who you are; tell us about Milan, about Italy, about everything. During the two years that we have been here no news has reached us. Write without fear; we vouch for the messenger. Reply quickly, for we burn to hear by what fatal destiny you, like us, have been buried in the tombs of Spielberg.

"Silvio Pellico.
Pietro Maroncelli."

The correspondence thus established was the only consolation of the prisoners during their long incarceration in that horrible place. At the end of eight years' confinement, Andryane had so nearly lost his sight that four surgeons, sent by the Emperor to examine him, reported that his case would be irremediable if his imprisonment was prolonged. His sister was at that time making the most strenuous efforts to obtain his release. Three times she procured, by means of powerful interest, an interview with the Emperor, to implore mercy for her brother; but always without success. On the second occasion Francis, who seemed excited by her presence, answered her very sharply.

"Get up, get up!" he exclaimed. "If I had known that you came to ask his pardon, I would not have

received you. I cannot grant it; my duty forbids it. Unless I make a striking example of this case, I shall have more of these rascals come to create disturbances here. If any more Frenchmen come, they shall certainly be hanged. Your brother ought to have been hanged."

To the poor woman's appeal to be allowed to see her brother sometimes, if only once a year, or even to be allowed to write to him, and receive a letter from him, with the same long interval, the Emperor's reply was, "Impossible!—impossible!" Her third appeal was successful, the Emperor having then received the report of the surgeons who had been sent to Spielberg to examine the prisoner's eyes. Even then it was stipulated that his liberation should be kept secret, and it was with some difficulty that permission was obtained for the communication of the release to Andryane's relatives in France.

"To your own family alone," said the Emperor. "I do not wish to be tormented by my Italian subjects."

Upon that condition, Andryane was released, "presenting the appearance," as his sister recorded in her journal, "of an old man, by his bent figure and his cadaverous complexion."

During the imprisonment of the Carbonaro leaders in the fortress of Spielberg the cause for which they suffered was in that state of depression which suggests the consolatory reflection, "when matters get to the worst, they must mend." The Holy Alliance spread the pall of despotism over all the broad tract between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, and from the Ural Mountains to the Rhine; and the black shadow ex-

tended to the Atlantic waves that break against the western shores of the British Islands and the Iberian Peninsula. The Carbonari did not abandon their organisation, but they remained inactive, waiting for the next breeze that might stir the long stagnant atmosphere of the moral world. In France, repeated failures resulted in dissensions, and, while the republicans adhered firmly to Lafayette, the constitutional monarchists formed a separate section, of which Manuel was the centre.

In the meantime, death was removing those of their ablest chiefs who were not languishing in prison or pining in exile. General Foy, whose frank and noble character, unflinching advocacy of the cause of liberty and humanity, great talents, military and literary fame, and brilliant oratorical powers, made him one of the most popular men of his time, died in the autumn of 1825. He was buried in the beautiful cemetery of Père la Chaise, in the presence of all the Liberal deputies and an immense concourse of all ranks of the people. Casimir Perier delivered an oration at the grave, and, on a touching allusion being made to the poverty in which the deceased had left his family, a proposition was made for the adoption of his orphan children by the assembled throng, and responded to by an instant and enthusiastic cry of "We swear it!" A subscription was opened for the erection of a monument, and to provide for the children of the patriot General; and a very large amount was obtained, the banker Laffitte contributing two thousand pounds, the Duke of Orleans four hundred, Casimir Perier the like amount, and all the leading Liberals in proportion to their means or their sympathies.

Two years later died Manuel, whose funeral was rendered by political feeling an occasion for a violent and unseemly struggle. The popular demonstration of which General Foy's funeral had been made the occasion had deeply annoyed the Villele Ministry, and the police and military authorities received orders to prevent any similar manifestation at the grave of the man whom they had feared to arrest while living. The crowd wished to draw the hearse to the cemetery, and, on the police insisting upon its being drawn by horses, a conflict ensued, which might have produced serious consequences, if Casimir Perier had not mounted the hearse, and from that elevation harangued the multitude, and allayed the popular exasperation. The funeral cortége was then permitted to proceed to Père la Chaise, where the remains of the great orator and courageous tribune of the people were deposited.

Lafayette remained, however, and he was a host in himself. During the autumn of 1829, at which time Charles X. abandoned a design he had formed of making a tour through Normandy and Brittany, on account of the unequivocal symptoms of hatred and disaffection towards his Government which were being displayed everywhere by the people, Lafayette made a progress through the southern provinces, and was received in every town he visited by immense and enthusiastic multitudes. At Clermont, Lyons, Grenoble, Puy, he was presented with crowns of oak and laurel leaves, attended by volunteer guards of honour, entertained at banquets, and hailed as the pioneer and apostle of freedom.

These demonstrations were ominous for the dynasty of Bourbon. The Revolution of 1830 was not,

however, the work of the Carbonari. The throne of Charles X. was sapped by his own Ministers; it fell under the spontaneous outburst of popular indignation provoked by the ordinances of July. Lafayette was absent from Paris when the insurrection broke out, but returned on the 28th, and attended the meeting of the Liberal deputies at the house of Audry de Puyraveau. The Carbonari were not represented in the deputation which waited on Marshal Marmont on that day to demand a cessation of hostilities; and only Schonen figured in the Provisional Government formed on the 29th. Lafayette's appointment to the command of the National Guard was an event the historic fitness of which was indisputable; and it gave him immense influence in the decision which had to be arrived at when the Chambers had pronounced the deposition of Charles X.

Schonen was one of the Commissioners by whom the abdication of Charles was negotiated on the part of the Provisional Government; and Constant was one of the authors of the declaration of principles addressed by the Chamber of Deputies to the people of France, and in which all the guarantees of freedom were announced in the name of the Duke of Orleans. But the Carbonari had little part in the Revolution, and Dupont was the only member of the Society whom Louis Philippe called to his councils in the first instance. Constant died before the Government was settled, and his funeral was the occasion of a demonstration as imposing as the scene enacted at the grave of General Foy. Mérilhou was subsequently appointed Minister of Religion and Public Instruction, but in a few months succeeded Dupont, who

resigned with Lafayette when the Chamber of Deputies, before the close of the year, virtually dismissed the latter from the command of the National Guards by abolishing the title of Commander-General of that body.

In Italy the news of the Revolution which had been brought about in France fell like a spark upon tinder. The Carbonari of the Peninsula were eager to drive out the Austrians, and unite the Papal States, the minor duchies, the kingdom of Sardinia, and the Lombardo-Venetian vice-royalty under the sovereignty of the Duke of Modena, who encouraged his friend Menotti, the foremost patriot of Central Italy, to hope for his adherence to the scheme. The project was not so hopeful as it seemed to Menotti, for all the Italian princes were allied with the Hapsburgs by relationship or marriage, and the Italians had been for centuries so far from regarding themselves as one people that anything like hearty union for a common object by the Piedmontese, the Lombards, the Romagnese, and the Modenese was not yet probable. To minds glowing with enthusiasm it seemed, however, only necessary to unfurl the Italian tricolour in order to rally beneath it all the young men of Italy; and, if any doubt mingled with their hopes, it was that they might not be able, single handed, to cope with the military power of Austria.

There was considerable excitement in Milan during the autumn of 1830, but the presence of a large Austrian force and the vigilance of the police prevented any outbreak. In the Papal States and the duchies of Parma and Modena, where the Governments were weaker and worse administered, the popular

discontent had risen to the point of desperation, and Bologna, for these reasons, became the centre of the conspiracy, which had its chief ramifications in Parma, Modena, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Ancona. Between the Carbonaro lodges of the ducal capitals and those of the Papal States there was not, however, the cordial co-operation which was so necessary to success; and the Modenese leader does not seem to have been well informed as to the popular feeling in Lombardy and Piedmont. He relied very much upon the support of France in the event of Austria's forcible intervention, and it is conceivable that the plans of the Carbonari would have been characterised by greater unity if they had been assured from the first that they had only their compatriots to back them, whether Austria interfered or not.

The Duke of Modena, on his part, was divided between his ambition and his hatred of the principles of the Revolution. He would have had no objection to assume a regal crown, but liberal institutions were not regarded with more favour by him than by Ferdinand of Naples. He dissembled, however, and in October told Menotti and Misley, the agent of a revolutionary committee in Paris, that he wished them success in their hazardous enterprise, and hoped to have an opportunity of proving himself a good Italian, ready to sacrifice everything for the welfare of his country. Menotti was not quite his dupe, as is shown by the following extract from a letter which he wrote to Misley after the latter's return to Paris :—

"We have arranged everything very well. On my return I went to the Duke, to keep him fast in the same position. He was satisfied with me, and I with

him. I hope I have succeeded in inducing him to perform some acts of grace for the new year; but I believe nothing until I see it. Everything is quiet here, and all is going on for the best. It was impossible to proceed rightly without a centre; besides, I was not enough, single-handed, for everything. The Romagna continues to be in the greatest fermentation, but it will not stir. Are the Piedmontese definitively agreed with us? Adieu. I am impatient for news from you."

Money was urgently wanted to enable the conspirators to provide arms, and on the 2nd of January, 1831, Menotti wrote to Misley as follows:—

"The only thing we want is money, and with money be assured we might effect the movement whenever we choose. The old Liberals who have money will not give any. No matter. This will not discourage us nor slacken our exertions. The Duke persists in his determination to let things proceed; so we live, as it were, in a republic. It is said that Maximilian* will come here. I do not believe it. All is quiet in Italy. Will France interfere in case the Austrians cross the Po? This is what we want by all means to know. Organise yourselves as well as you can. We must have Piedmont. Get the union decided on. Adieu."

The French Government had not only proclaimed a policy of non-intervention, but had expressly declared that France would not permit intervention on the part of any other Power in the affairs of any nation in Europe. Lafayette was deceived by these professions, and assured Misley that the Italians had nothing to

* Brother of the Duke of Modena.

fear. The eldest son of the King of the French was believed to have affiliated himself to the Carbonari;* what better guarantee could be desired by the good cousins of Italy? But Louis Philippe stood towards his Ministers at this early period of his reign in the same position as the despotic sovereigns of Spain and Naples had stood ten years before. Before accepting the throne, he had had an interview with the Russian Minister, Count Pozzo di Borgo, and discussed with him the eventualities of his acceptance of it. "Accept the crown," was the advice given him; "it is the greatest service your Royal Highness can render to Europe and to the cause of order and peace." He knew what this meant, and what would be expected of him as the condition of the Holy Alliance consenting to abandon the engagement of the Powers to maintain the Bourbons on the throne; but he could not venture as yet to kick down the ladder by which he had mounted to the throne.

The Duke of Modena was in the meantime preparing to enact the part played by the Prince of Carignano in 1821. Before the end of the year he had been made aware by his relations with the Austrian Court that an Austrian army was ready to cross the Po on the first symptoms of revolt, and that France would not interfere. He took his measures accordingly. What his first was is shown by the following extract of a letter written by Menotti on the 7th of January:—

* The initiation of the Duke of Orleans is inferred from his having told Vairdot, so early as November, the date fixed for the rising at Modena.

"I am this moment arrived in Bologna. I must tell you that the Duke is a downright rascal. I was in danger of being killed yesterday. The Duke has had a report spread through the instrumentality of the San Fedists, that you and I are agents paid for forming centres and denouncing them. So fully was this believed in Bologna that I narrowly escaped assassination." This treachery of the Duke of Modena placed the conspirators in an awkward position. They were not prepared with another Italian sovereign, and they could not allow the popular ardour to cool without indefinitely postponing the accomplishment of their hopes. It was resolved at Bologna, therefore, that the rising should take place on the night of the 7th of February.

One of those incidents intervened, however, which have so often rendered conspiracies abortive. Among the conspirators was a young man named Ricci, serving in the Ducal Guards, and whose father had been marked out for the vengeance of the revolutionists in the event of their success. The young man, trembling for his father's safety, implored him to leave Modena on the 7th, at the same time assigning no reason for his solicitude. The father's suspicions were excited, and he imparted them to the Duke. Young Ricci was summoned to the palace, where he was impelled by threats into partial disclosures, which sufficed to put the Duke on his guard. General Zucchi, upon whose co-operation the conspirators had relied, was ordered to leave the city, and the Duke's precautions made them aware that the plot was suspected, if not known. They resolved to precipitate the crisis, therefore, and prepared to

surprise the palace and the four gates of the city on the night of the 3rd.

Forty men assembled on that night on the first-floor of a large house, the upper portion of which was occupied by the Minister, Scozia. The Duke wished to have the house blown up with gunpowder,* but at the earnest entreaties of Scozia that he would not confound in a common destruction the innocent and the guilty, he refrained from that atrocity, and sent troops to surround the house and slay or arrest all the conspirators. The tramp of the soldiers drew some of the Carbonari to the windows, and at the next moment, the outer door being open, soldiers ascended the stairs. Escape and resistance were equally hopeless, and the conspirators became frantic with desperation. Menotti fired a pistol through the door, and the soldiers on the landing and stairs riddled the door with shots in return. The conspirators fired from the windows on the troops in the street, and forced them to withdraw into the cover afforded by the porticoes of the houses. Menotti then made an attempt to descend from a window by means of a rope, but he was observed; one of the soldiers fired at him, and he fell wounded upon the pavement. His companions surrendered at discretion, and the whole were marched off to prison.

This was a bad beginning; but on the following day a bloodless revolution was effected at Bologna, where, on a large body of the Carbonari surrounding the Governor's house, that functionary withdrew, without a contest, and retired with the garrison to Florence. A Provisional Government was established,

* Louis Blanc's History of Ten Years.

consisting of Mamiani, Armandi, Vicini, Bianchetti, Silvani, Sturani, Orioli, Sarti, and Zanolini, the Italian tricolour displayed from the public buildings, and a national guard formed. On the 5th, the Carbonari effected a successful rising at Modena, whence the Duke, after burning all his papers, fled to Mantua, taking Menotti with him, for the same reason probably that he destroyed whatever documentary evidence there was of his relations with the Carbonari. Risings at Parma, Ancona, and Ferrara followed, and in less than a week the Papal and Ducal authority was at an end in every town and village between the Apennines and the Po.

The Provisional Government established at Bologna issued on the 10th a stirring address to the Lombards, calling upon them to rise *en masse* and cast off the yoke of Austria; and endeavours were made to extend the movement into Piedmont, Tuscany, and Naples, as well as into the Papal provinces south of the Apennines. There was little unity of aim among the leaders in different parts of the country, however, and the masses showed themselves more indifferent to the movement than had been expected. Though the directors of the movement seem at this time to have perceived the mistake of perpetuating the division of the peninsula into six or seven separate and independent States, the idea of Italian unity was not yet fully realised among the Carbonari, and still less by the nation at large. The leading features of the revolutionary programme were still expulsion of the Austrians and the granting of liberal constitutions by the native princes. Hence Provisional Govern-

ments were established at Modena and Parma, as well as at Bologna, and unity of action was thus rendered impracticable.

The Austrian army in Lombardy had been receiving reinforcements since the Revolution in France, and now amounted to a hundred thousand men. On the application of the Pope, the Duke of Modena, and the Duchess of Parma, General Firmont received orders to march upon Bologna with twenty thousand men, while a smaller body invaded the duchies of Parma and Modena. The Po was crossed in the early days of March, and the authority of the Duke of Modena and the Duchess of Parma was restored without bloodshed. The latter sovereign granted a general amnesty, contenting herself with excluding the leaders of the revolutionary movement in Parma from public employment for three years; but the Duke of Modena was no sooner restored to the throne than Menotti, with as many more of the conspirators as could be secured, were brought to trial. Menotti and Borilla were hanged, to the Duke's eternal disgrace, and several more were condemned to long terms of imprisonment.

A body of the Bolognese insurgents had crossed the Apennines in order to aid an expected rising in Rome, and had reached Otricoli when the Austrians crossed the Po and advanced against Bologna. The revolutionary forces in that city, commanded by Colonel Armandi, the provisional Minister of War, numbered only seven thousand men, of whom not more than a third were soldiers, gendarmes, and custom-house guards, and the whole badly armed and indisciplined.

Four hundred muskets and as many sabres, which had been bought at Leghorn, were seized by the Tuscan authorities. Yet, so strong was the influence of political tradition in Italy that the Provisional Government disarmed General Zucchi and the Modenese insurgents who sought refuge in Bologna after the restoration of the Ducal authority in Modena. The Austrians entered Bologna without encountering any resistance, therefore, the Provisional Government and the armed force retiring to Ancona.

Notwithstanding the public declarations of the French Government that Austrian intervention in Italy would not be permitted, not a French soldier was moved when the Po was crossed by the invaders, except to prevent the Italian refugees and French sympathisers with them from hastening to the support of the Revolution. Even while his Ministers pretended to make a distinction between the case of the Duchies and that of the Papal States, Louis Philippe privately assured the Pope that the intervention of Austria would not be opposed. At the end of February a great number of Italian refugees had assembled at Lyons, with the view of creating a diversion in Savoy, and French volunteer bands were formed to support them. The Prefect at Lyons, believing the declarations of the Government to be made in good faith, at first aided and encouraged them; but he was soon undeceived by an order from Casimir Perier to disperse the assemblies of the refugees, and prevent their departure for the frontier. He thereupon left Lyons on an official tour of inspection, while Baune, a bold citizen, offered to join the refugees with two battalions of National Guards. The refugees declined the offer,

however, in order not to compromise the French authorities, and left Lyons in small parties.

The rendezvous was near the frontier, between the village of Maximieux and the bridge of Chazet; and it was nearly reached when the refugees were overtaken by dragoons and gendarmes, and forced to return to Lyons. A few days afterwards, Misley and Linati arrived at Marseilles and chartered a vessel, aboard which they put a couple of cannon and twelve hundred muskets. They were joined by General Pepe, Count Grilenzoni, the advocate Mantovani, Dr. Franceschini, and Lieutenant Mori; but at the last moment the Prefect received a telegraphic order from Paris to prevent their embarkation and lay an embargo on the vessel. General Pepe evaded the vigilance of the police, however, and contrived to reach Hyères, where he heard of the entrance of the Austrians into Bologna, and thereupon abandoned his intention of giving the aid of his reputation and experience to the revolutionary cause.

Bologna had been occupied by the Austrians on the 21st of March, and General Firmont lost no time in marching upon Ancona. The idea of defending that city was entertained by the revolutionary government for a time, and the approach of the Austrians inspired the inhabitants, on that account, with the utmost consternation. Colonel Armandi recognised the impracticability of successful resistance, however, and on the 29th, accompanied by three of his colleagues, Bianchetti, Silvani, and Sturani, had an interview with Cardinal Benvenuti, who had been seized at the commencement of the insurrection, and held as a hostage. A convention was concluded between the

Cardinal, acting in the name of the Pope, and the representatives of the Revolution, whereby it was agreed that the city should be surrendered on the condition of a general amnesty. The Austrians thereupon entered Ancona, and the revolt was at an end, General Sercognani, who commanded a column of insurgents in the Apeninnes, laying down their arms at Spoleto on the faith of the convention. Ninety-eight insurgents left Ancona in a vessel under the Papal flag, having little faith, perhaps, that the convention would be observed; but the vessel was seized at sea by the Austrians, and they were taken to Venice, and subjected to a long and rigorous imprisonment.

In spite of the remonstrances of Cardinal Benvenuti, the Pope refused to ratify the convention, and, like the Duke of Modena, ordered arrests throughout his dominions, and instituted special commissions for the trial of the offenders. The leaders had escaped, however, and no blood was shed on the scaffold, though the prisons were filled with the suspected. The Great Powers, on the suggestion of the French Government, presented a joint note to Gregory XVI., recommending him to institute certain reforms in the administration of the Papal territories—namely, the establishment of a council of state and central and provincial assemblies of the representatives of the people, with the admission of laymen to all public offices. The Pope could only be induced to institute provincial assemblies, and even this concession was nullified by the exclusion of laymen.

The popular discontent thus provoked enabled the Carbonari to fan the smouldering embers of the revolt

into a flame, and early in January, 1832, the Italian tricolour was raised again at Cesena. The Papal troops were immediately marched into the disturbed districts, and six thousand of them attacked Cesena, which was defended against them by half that number of insurgents with a courage that has never been surpassed. Numbers prevailed, however, and the insurgents were at length driven out of the town, which immediately became the scene of the most horrible barbarities, committed by the Papalists upon the unfortunate inhabitants. The insurgents retired to Forli, which after a desperate conflict was taken by assault by the troops of the Pope, and given up to massacre and pillage. The survivors of the defenders retreated to Ravenna, and thence, on the approach of the Papalists, to Bologna, the civic guards of Ravenna accompanying them.

The whole of the Romagna was now in a ferment, and the Carbonari flocked into Bologna from all directions. The Papal General, knowing that his troops were more ferocious than brave, having been largely recruited from roving bands of brigands, hesitated to attack a force as strong as his own; and Marshal Radetzky, who was under orders to execute, in case of the necessity arising, a convention which had been secretly concluded between the Austrian Government and the Pope, directed General Grabowsky upon the Po, with six thousand men. These troops entered Bologna on the 28th of January, to the unspeakable relief of the inhabitants, who, much as they detested the Austrians, were disposed to welcome disciplined troops of any nationality as a protection from the barbarity and licentiousness of the Papalists. The

insurrection was now stamped out, and the Carbonari were all in prison, in hiding, or in exile.

The French Carbonari continued to be divided, and in 1833 their dissensions culminated in a demand of the Lyons lodges to be informed who were the directors of the Society, and a warning from them that blind obedience to unknown chiefs would no longer be yielded. Repeated failures and disasters may be supposed to have rendered them suspicious, for the French are ever prone to attribute their defeats and mischances to treachery; but the unknown is an important element of the strength of secret societies, and the demand of the Lyonese Carbonari was a sign of the Society's decadence. The vice-presidents made a half-promise of compliance, but it was not fulfilled, and bickerings arose, which resulted in the appointment by the dissentients of a committee for the revision of the statutes. This was an act of revolt which the Grand Lodge could not overlook; a rupture and a secession were the consequence, and Martin and Bertholon, the presidents of two of the Lyonese lodges, founded the Society of the Rights of Man, taking for their programme the declaration of rights presented to the National Convention by Robespierre. This Society soon had branches in all the principal towns, and many thousands of the working classes were enrolled as members. A central committee, of which Audry de Puyraveau and Godefroi Cavaignac were members, directed its action; for several years it played an important part in political agitation. It was not a secret society, however, and its history can, therefore, have no place in this record.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HETAIRIA.

THE history of the secret society which prepared the Greek Revolution is interesting, not merely as affording an instance of the successful employment of such machinery, but also as an illustration of the secret diplomacy by which the Eastern question, in its varying phases, has been produced, and is kept alive. We see, in the Hetairia, a secret association formed for the purpose of preparing a revolution in a country in which it did not originate, and never had its seat, and using for its purpose the support and sympathy of persons of various nationalities, who were not even actuated by the same motives, and had only one object in common—the disruption of the Ottoman Empire. The history of the Hetairia constitutes, therefore, a very important and interesting chapter of the larger chronicle of the relations between Turkey and Russia.

The origin of the Society is involved in some obscurity, which is less dense, however, than that which envelops the formation of the Carbonari. Of the various writers who have essayed to throw light upon the subject, one states that it originated in 1814 with some young Greeks resident in Vienna, one of whom is said to have been Prince Alexander Ipsilanti;

another, that it was founded at the beginning of the present century by Prince Alexander Mavrocordato, ex-Hospodar of Wallachia, then an exile in Russia, with the ostensible object of promoting the education of the Greek youth; a third, that it owed its origin to the Greek poet Rigas, who, in 1796, while residing in Vienna, plotted a Greek insurrection, but was delivered by the Austrian Government to the Porte, and executed at Belgrade; a fourth, that it was founded by Count Capo d'Istria, who grafted it upon a literary association, called the Philomuse Society. These various stories are but different versions of the true history, all of them pointing to a common centre, a little circle of educated Greeks in Vienna.

The investigation leads us back to an association which existed in the Austrian capital sixty years ago, and which had been founded for the promotion of Romaic literature and the diffusion of education among the Greeks. The Czar, the Crown Princes of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, and Prince John Caradja, the Hospodar of Wallachia, were patrons of the Society, which had other influential and liberal friends in Count Capo d'Istria, the private secretary of the Czar, and Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, who held the rank of Major-General in the Russian army, and whose father had been Hospodar of Wallachia. The ferment of ideas occasioned by the French Revolution, and the stirring events to which it gave rise in most parts of Europe, caused the thought of the regeneration of Greece as a nation to germinate in the minds of some of the young men, members of the Philomuse, who met to discuss the news of the day at the house of Anthymos Gazi, a distinguished scholar, who had

been intimate with Rigas, and edited a Romaic literary journal, which was published at Vienna, and read by educated Greeks in all parts of Europe. The fervid dreams of liberty excited by the Tugendbund caused them to look forward with interest to the Congress of Vienna, in which they hoped, from the Greek and Russian community of religion, and the traditional antagonism of Russia and Turkey, that the affairs of Greece would receive some attention. In this they were disappointed, and, with the example of the Tugendbund before them, it was not unnatural that they should be impelled to emulate it.

It was at that time that the nucleus of the Hetairia, or Friends, was formed by the more ardent patriots among the members of the Philomuse Society; and the credit of its organisation seems to be due to Count Capo d'Istria, who was a native of Corfu, and had entered upon public life as the secretary of Admiral Tchitchagoff, from which he was soon advanced to the influential position of private secretary to the Czar. Prince Alexander Ipsilanti and Anthymos Gazi were probably among the first members of the association, for we find the former in Bessarabia, engaged in the propagation of the system, before the close of 1815; and Gordon, though he states that the Prince was not initiated until the spring of 1820, tells us, in another portion of his narrative, that he was a member of the Grand Arch in 1815.*

The machinery of the Hetairia was admirably adapted for the end for which it was designed. Less simple than that of the Carbonari, the system rather

* History of the Greek Revolution.

resembled that of the Illuminati in the number of grades and relation of the branch societies to each other. Every member had the right to initiate others; but before doing so he was bound, under heavy penalties, to make the strictest inquiry into their characters and antecedents, and was held responsible for those whom he introduced. The number of grades was five—namely, the Adelphoi, or Brothers, who, on initiation, took only a general oath of secrecy and fidelity to the Society, without knowing what means were to be employed for the attainment of its object; the Systemenoi, or Bachelors, who were informed that the liberation of Greece was to be achieved by revolution; the Priests of Eleusis, who were made acquainted with the progress of the movement; the Prelates, who were admitted to all the secrets of the Society, and deputed to superintend the branches; and the Grand Arch, which exercised the supreme control and direction, and consisted of twelve, or, according to some writers, sixteen members, who seem to have been self-appointed.

The oath of initiation, which was taken by the candidate on his knees, bound him to be faithful to his country, to labour with all his physical and mental energies for her regeneration, to preserve the secrets of the Society inviolate, and to put to death even his nearest relatives, if they were guilty of treachery to the cause of Greece. Every member paid on initiation a contribution to the funds of the Society, the amount being optional, but expected to be proportionate to his pecuniary ability; and signed a document in the following form:—"I, ——, native of ——, exercising the profession of ——, although

now arrived at the age of —— years, have not yet had time to dedicate a gift to some useful purpose; I now, therefore, consign to you, ——, the sum of —— piastres, to be paid over to the Monastery [*or school*] of ——." To the signature a cipher was attached, which served afterwards to verify letters to the directing committee, which kept a list of names, with the annexed ciphers, and vouchers of the sums paid. The newly initiated member also made a private mark on the paper, which the initiator was not to see, and which the Grand Arch used to authenticate any subsequent communication to the former. The money, the document, and the voucher were forwarded to the Grand Arch through the Prelate of the district.

In the early years of the Society's existence no native of Wallachia, or of the island of Scio, was allowed to be admitted, from a suspicion of their trustworthiness; but when open hostilities against the Porte became imminent this exclusion was abandoned. Some of the signs and pass-words were common to all the grades, but others were known to the higher grades only, each of which had its peculiar mysteries. The Adelphoi saluted by placing the right hand on their friend's breast, and uttering the Albanian word *sipsi* (pipe), to which the other, if initiated, responded with *sarroukia* (sandals). The Systemenoi pronounced the syllable *Lon*, and the person accosted, if in the secret, completed the word by uttering the syllable *don*.

In the higher grades the formulas were more elaborate and complex. The mystical words of the Priests of Eleusis were *pos echeis* and *os echeis*, the meaning of which depends upon an *omega* or an *omicron* being

used in the first words. With the one they mean, "How are you?" and "As well as you are;" with the other, "How many have you?" and "As many as you have." If the person accosted had reached the third grade, he understood the mystical sense attached to the question, and replied, "Sixteen." To be sure of his man, the questioner then asked, "Have you no more?" to which his equally cautious friend responded with, "Tell me the first, and I will tell you the second." The first then pronounced the first syllable of a Turkish word signifying *justice*, and the other completed it by uttering the second syllable. The sign of recognition was given by a particular touch of the right hand, and making the joints of the fingers crack; afterwards folding the arms and wiping the eyes. The Prelates pressed the wrist, in shaking hands, with the index finger, reclined the head on the left hand, and pressed the right on the region of the heart. The Prelate accosted responded by rubbing the forehead. If in doubt, the mystical phrases of the Priests of Eleusis were repeated, and, if the answers were correctly given, the two repeated alternately the syllables of the mysterious word, *Va-an-va-da*.

Very opposite lists of the members of the Grand Arch have been given—Mr. Urquhart naming the Czar, the Crown Princes of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, the Hospodar of Wallachia, and Count Capo d'Istria; while Gordon maintains that, "it really comprehended persons of quite a different stamp," some of whom he names. Alison says that Capo d'Istria was known to be one, and that the other individuals named by Mr. Urquhart were suspected; and he adds: "The real members of that select body, whoever they were, were

too well aware of the influence of the unknown to permit their names to be revealed; but the course of events gives reason to think that some at least of those illustrious personages were in the Association, and formed part of its highest grade." Some of the names have never transpired; but I have arrived at the conclusion, after a careful study of the subject from documents and the data alluded to by Alison, that three at least of the five persons named by Mr. Urquhart were not members of the Grand Arch.

The contrary belief arose from the confusion which existed in the early years of the Society's existence between the Hetairia and the Philomuse, the former being unknown, and its agents concealing their real character and purpose under the cloak of the latter. It is very unlikely, however, that Alexander, the founder of the Holy Alliance, and a couple of German princes, at that time suffering the extremity of uneasiness on account of the Tugendbund, would have become directors of a secret society for the purpose of promoting a revolution in a neighbouring country. With Prince John Caradja and Count Capo d'Istria the case was quite different; they were both Greeks, and the former may have indulged the idea, as so many of his successors have done, of becoming an independent sovereign and the founder of a dynasty.

Gordon gives six names only, all of them, with the exception of Alexander Ipsilanti, being those of wealthy Greek merchants, to which class he maintains the unknown members of the Grand Arch belonged. It is probable that even a complete list of the members of that select body, as it was constituted in 1815, would not agree with a similar list for 1820; but the

name of Capo d'Istria may be safely added, I think, to the names given by Gordon as forming a portion of the Grand Arch in the former year—namely, Alexander Ipsilanti, Count Galati (who had been a jeweller at Moscow), and the merchants Pentedekas, Zanthos, and Sekeris. Prince John Caradja and Prince Michael Soutzo were probably not raised to the Grand Arch until two or three years later.

Moscow being considered more eligible than Vienna for the seat of the Grand Arch, it was removed to the former city soon after the Hetairia was constituted; and from Moscow its orders were for several years sent to the Prelates in a cipher devised for the purpose, under a seal of portentous dimensions, inscribed with sixteen letters in as many compartments. The Philomuse Society, from which the Hetairia had sprung, was removed two years afterwards to Munich, and was allowed to sink gradually out of existence. The Grand Arch commenced operations, without loss of time, by despatching emissaries, called Apostles, to Paris and London, and others to St. Petersburg, for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Great Powers, and enlisting their sympathies. No support was promised them, and Capo d'Istria exhorted the Grand Arch, through its emissaries, not to raise the standard of revolt until war arose between Russia and Turkey. The Grand Arch was successful, however, in propagating the Hetairist system among the Greeks of Southern Russia and the Danubian principalities, and lodges were opened at Odessa, Jassi, and Bucharest.

Early in 1816, Anthymos Gazi and other Apostles went through Greece, initiating such persons of influence in their respective districts as they thought

could be relied upon, and appointing provincial superintendents. Great caution was used in admitting members in the early years of the Society's existence, and considerable judgment and skill seem to have been shown by the Apostles in adapting their arguments and representations to the position and character of the individual whom they desired to gain over to the movement. The time was peculiarly favourable for the enrolment of men who possessed some military experience. On the conclusion of the war the French Government evacuated Corfu, and disbanded a corps of Albanians which had been maintained there, and the British Government disbanded two battalions of capital light infantry which had been raised in Albania and the Morea. There were also many Greek officers in the Russian army released from active service by the termination of the war; and from these various sources the Hetairia received a great accession of strength.

Other Apostles went through Europe, raising money by soliciting contributions, ostensibly for the educational purposes contemplated by the Philomuse Society, whose name they used for that purpose. How far the imperial and royal patrons of that Society were aware of the purpose to which the funds thus raised were applied is unknown. Probably they knew no more of the matter than is usually known by the distinguished patrons of similar societies, who are content to lend their names and pay their annual subscriptions, leaving the management in the hands of individuals moving in a much more humble sphere. It is certain, however, that by this means, and the subscriptions of members, a large amount flowed into the treasury of the Hetairia, twenty thousand pounds

having been transmitted at one time from Hydra to a Greek mercantile firm at Constantinople, acting as the bankers of the Society, as the contribution of the Morea alone. The most distinguished men of Greece were, one after another, drawn into the Hetairia, some by unselfish patriotism, some by ambition, more by the combination of both motives. Prince John Caradja and Prince Michael Soutzo were won to the cause by the hope of attaining independent sovereignty, the one in Wallachia, the other in Moldavia; Prince Alexander Ipsilanti aspired to the crown of the united principalities; Petros Mavromichalis, the Governor of Maina, was seduced from his allegiance by the hope of becoming the ruler of the Peloponnesus. The accession of men in such elevated positions led to more extensive affiliations among their relatives and subordinates, and the movement widened as it spread downward, until it comprehended most of the clergy of the Greek Church, from the Archbishops down to the village priests, as well as the majority of the Greek merchants in foreign countries, and large numbers of the more wealthy cultivators of the Morea.

Increased activity marked the movements of the Hetairists during 1818. An Apostle named Anagnosturas was deputed by the Grand Arch to visit the Morea, and proceeded, viâ Constantinople, to Hydra, and thence to Tripolitza, initiating many of the inhabitants. At the same time, Germanos, Archbishop of Patras, exerted himself in procuring the affiliation of his friends, and was in constant communication with Vlassapoulos, the Russian Consul at Patras, who was also one of the initiated. While the system was thus being extended in the Morea, Prince

John Caradja left Bucharest abruptly, and the Sultan nominated as his successor Prince Alexander Soutzo. Alexander Mavrocordato, the nephew and secretary of Caradja, left Bucharest at the same time, and, after visiting Vienna and other cities, settled at Pisa, where he was joined by Ignatius, Archbishop of Bucharest, and several other persons of distinction.

Mavrocordato descended in a direct line from the illustrious Greek of that name who acquired renown both in politics and science towards the close of the seventeenth century, and received the title of Count from Leopold II., for his co-operation in the relief of Vienna, when besieged by the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, in 1683. Several of his ancestors had been Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, and his father was chief translator to the Ottoman Foreign Ministry, being a distinguished linguist. Alexander was educated for the diplomatic service, and displayed the same aptitude for the acquisition of languages as his father had done. At ten years of age he was able to speak and write, with equal facility, Greek, Turkish, Persian, French, and Italian; and he afterwards attained proficiency in English and German. In 1817, being then in his twenty-seventh year, he left Constantinople for Bucharest, so that he had been little more than a year with Caradja when the latter's flight terminated whatever hopes he may have had of advancement in his uncle's service, or in that of the Porte.

Early in 1820, the Grand Arch removed from Moscow to Kishinev, a town in Bessarabia, and on the high road to Jassi. The resolution for revolt had then been taken, and the coincidence of the resolve with

the revolutionary movements in Spain and Italy indicates the probability of an exchange of confidences to some extent between the Hetairists at Pisa and their sympathisers among the Carbonari. A swarm of Apostles immediately spread over Greece, visiting every town, village, and island, and initiating the Greek inhabitants by thousands, without observing the caution which had marked their propagandist operations in earlier years. Count Galati sailed from Galatz to Hydra, with the intention, it has been supposed, of heading the revolt in the Morea; but he was assassinated amidst the ruins of Hermione by a companion named Foro, who escaped to Italy, notwithstanding the exertions of the Russian Consul, at whose house both the murderer and his victim had passed the preceding night, to arrest him. Foro was supposed to have been instigated to the commission of the crime by the Grand Arch, or by some member of that body, on account of the intemperate habits of Galati, and the indiscretions to which they led; and there were some who found reason for believing Prince Alexander Ipsilanti to have prompted the deed, through jealousy of Galati, with whom he had also had a quarrel concerning the disposal of the Hetairist funds.

Whatever the hidden motive for this crime may have been, there is no doubt that there was about that time some difference of opinion among the leaders of the movement as to the course to be pursued. Ipsilanti had proposed a revolutionary movement in Moldavia, to which he was urged in some degree by his ambition, and also by the hope of aid from Russia; while some of his colleagues deemed that an insurrec-

tion in Moldavia, besides being badly directed for the liberation of Greece, unless as part of a larger plan, would have no chance of success. This is known to have been also the view taken by Mavrocordato, whose opinion of a Greek rising in Constantinople, which was also suggested, was equally unfavourable. The Greeks of the Morea supported generally the idea of a national movement on their own soil, and they had not long before insisted on banking their contributions at Patras, instead of forwarding them to the bankers of the Grand Arch at Constantinople.

Ipsilanti's scheme prevailed, however, and immediately after the murder of Galati a circular letter was sent by the Grand Arch to the Prelates, announcing the nomination of the Prince as Procurator-General of the Association, and desiring them to yield implicit obedience to his orders. This circular was followed by one from Ipsilanti in his own name, and not in cipher, enjoining them to provide ammunition, and prepare for revolt, but not to move until they received orders from him to that effect. Affiliations were thereupon multiplied so rapidly that the maintenance of the secret was due rather to the apathy of the Turkish authorities than to the discretion of the initiated.

A butcher of Zante betrayed the secret to Ali Pacha, but, having been initiated only in the lowest grade, that redoubtable chief could gather from the man's communication only the intention of the Greeks to revolt. He was so deeply compromised himself that he determined to keep the secret, which he endeavoured to use for his own purpose. He sent a priest to Patras to offer the Hetairists, through Vlas-

sapoulos, two millions of piastres to raise a revolt in the Morea, assuring them of his co-operation; and he told the Suliotes that, if they supported him until the following spring, they might then assist at the funeral of the Ottoman Power. The Hetairists returned a guarded reply, and Odysseus, who served under Ali in Phocis, was equally cautious in responding to a similar message from Veli Pacha, a son of Ali. The Greeks feared treachery, deeming the wily chief of Janina capable of betraying them to the Porte as the ransom of his own head from the block.

In November a priest named Flessa arrived from Constantinople, with money and ammunition for the Hetairists of the Morea, whose chiefs thereupon held a conference at Vostizza. Flessa announced that Ipsilanti had undertaken, with the sanction of the Czar, to raise Moldavia and Wallachia; that the rulers of Servia and Montenegro were in the conspiracy; and that the Greeks of Constantinople were prepared to rise, under the leadership of Prince Constantine Morousi, and burn the arsenal and the Ottoman fleet. The Moreote chiefs seem to have suspected some exaggeration, for they wrote to the Archbishop of Bucharest for information, and resolved to await the result of Ipsilanti's movement before committing themselves. About this time a letter in the Hetairist cipher was intercepted by the authorities at Mistra, and, though nothing could be made of it, a man was arrested at Kalavryta on suspicion of some treasonable design. The Archbishop of Patras thereupon became alarmed, and retired to a village in the neighbouring hills; and an immense amount of falsehood was resorted to by persons who were implicated in the con-

spiracy in order to lull the suspicions of the local authorities.

Flessa's communication concerning the complicity of Servia was not entirely without foundation. About a month after his arrival in the Morea, an emissary of the Grand Arch, named Aristides, was arrested as he was about to cross the Danube, on his way to Belgrade, charged with an important mission. His papers were laid before the Pacha of Widdin, who, after examining them, ordered him to be executed; but, after the beheading of Aristides, he thought no more of the matter until reminded of it by the revolutionary movements of the following year, when he forwarded the papers to Constantinople. There is no doubt that Ipsilanti had been led by his sanguine temperament and the representations of the Apostles to believe that Servia, as well as Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bulgaria, was ripe for revolt; but he was made aware, by a memorial addressed by the Hetairists of Jassi to the Grand Arch, and dated the 1st of February, 1821, that the movement which he contemplated would receive little support either in Moldavia or Wallachia, and none in Bulgaria, the memorial pointing out at the same time that, though a rising in Moldavia might be useful to the cause as a diversion, an effectual movement could be made only in Greece.

The Grand Arch, in which the influence of Ipsilanti was now paramount, did not heed this warning; and the death of Prince Alexander Soutzo, which occurred on the 30th of January, 1821, afforded a favourable opportunity for an outbreak in the uncertainty and relaxation of authority which mark an interregnum. A revolutionary movement was prepared, and the

first step was taken at Bucharest, where a hundred and fifty Hetairists rose, under the command of Theodore Vladimiruko, formerly a lieutenant-colonel in the Russian army, marched out in a body, and seized Czernitz, a small town on the Danube, near the ruins of Trajan's bridge. There he issued a proclamation, and was joined by two thousand peasants and two hundred mounted Servians, the latter commanded by a Servian captain named Provan. The divan, or council of *Boyards*, attempted to negotiate with him; but he rejected their overtures, and declared that the new Hospodar, Prince Charles Callimachi, should not cross the Danube without his permission.

The Boyards thereupon fled into Transylvania, most of them being robbed and ill-treated by the disorderly bands of peasants whom Vladimiruko's proclamation had gathered around him. The Hetairist chief entered Bucharest at the head of the insurgents and their Servian allies, the *bimbashi* or chief of the police, a Greek named Sava, who was now the sole representative of authority, retiring into the Archbishop's palace. He then issued an address, suggesting a petition to the Sultan for certain administrative reforms, a proceeding which caused him to be suspected by Ipsilanti of aiming at the Hospodarship.

Ipsilanti had, in the meantime, sent to Jassi his secretary Lassani, to prepare events in that capital; but he revoked that agent's powers at the end of February, and sent in his stead an officer named Dukas. Though the Hospodar was a member of the Hetairia, Ipsilanti concealed his design from him, and announced to him that he was going to Laybach to

submit the Eastern question to the Holy Alliance. On the night of the 5th of March, however, Dukas assembled the chief Hetairists of Jassi, and informed them that the Procurator-General would arrive on the following day; and, on the evening of the 6th, Ipsilanti, having crossed the Pruth at Skuleni, entered Jassi, accompanied by his brothers, George and Nicholas, Prince George Cantazucene, a Greek named Manos, a Polish officer named Garnofski, and a few servants, and escorted by two hundred mounted Hetairists, who had left Jassi for that purpose.

He immediately had a private interview with Prince Michael Soutzo, and on the following morning issued a proclamation, calling upon the Moldavians to assert their independence, and assuring them that there was nothing to fear, as "a great Power was ready to punish the insolence of the Turks." The Moldavians did not respond to the summons as they had been expected to do, however, and, from this cause and the want of cannon and ammunition, the movements of Ipsilanti were characterised by slowness and uncertainty. On the 11th, the standard of the Hetairia, on which a phœnix was emblazoned, symbolising the resurrection of Greece, was consecrated with great pomp in the Cathedral of Jassi, in the presence of all the civil and military functionaries, who took an oath of fidelity to the cause of Greek nationality.

Encouraged by these revolutionary proceedings, and by the assurance of Russian support implied in Ipsilanti's proclamation, the Christian rabble rose in Jassi and Galatz, where they murdered all the Mahomedans they could find, plundered their houses, and set them on fire. These outrages, besides casting a

slur upon the movement, provoked a terrible retaliation when they became known at Constantinople. The suspicion was strong on the part of the Sultan and his Ministers that the movement had been instigated by Russia; for, though the secret agency of the Hetairia was unknown, the allusion in Ipsilanti's proclamation was unmistakable, and he had besides asserted that the aid of Russia was certain, and made requisitions of horses and provisions for a Russian force alleged to be advancing towards the Pruth. Baron Strogonoff assured the Porte, however, that the insurrection in the Danubian principalities was not sanctioned by the Government; and Count Nesselrode announced officially that the Czar "could not regard the enterprise of Ipsilanti otherwise than as the effect of the exaltation which characterised the present epoch, conjoined with the levity and inexperience of that young man, whose name had been ordered to be erased from the roll of the Russian army."

Alexander told Châteaubriand, at a later period, that he "discerned in the troubles in the Peloponnesus the mark of the Revolution, and from that moment kept aloof from them." His well-known horror of the Revolution, conceived during that tremendous upheaval which is one of the most striking landmarks of European history, and expressed in the Holy Alliance, induces belief in the sincerity of this avowal; but, however much his belief in the divine right of kings may have been shocked, he could not, despot though he was, restrain the enthusiasm of his subjects in the cause of their co-religionists. It is hard to sound the depths of such a mind as Alexander's; but it seems certain that, though he may

have cherished the idea of a deliverance of the Christian subjects of the Sultan by the armies of Russia, such an event would have differed widely, from his point of view, from a revolt unsanctioned by any authority which he would deem legitimate. The Hetairists had not acted upon the advice which he gave them, through Capo d'Istria, in 1815, and he would not sanction a revolt in Moldavia or the Morea any more than in Italy or Spain.

The excitement which the Hetairist movements in Moldavia and Wallachia produced was as great in Russia, however, as in Greece. Ipsilanti's proclamation was read publicly at Odessa, and, amidst manifestations of the utmost enthusiasm, a subscription was opened for the advancement of the Greek cause. At Constantinople, on the other hand, the Patriarch and Synod of the Greek Church issued a manifesto, exhorting their co-religionists to remain loyal to the Sultan. The exhortation was disregarded; probably it was regarded only as a device to avert suspicion from the hierarchy.

Finding that the Moldavians did not rise, as he had expected, Ipsilanti left Jassi on the 13th, at the head of eight hundred horsemen, three-fourths of whom were Arnauts, and the remainder Moldavians, except a few Cossacks, who had deserted from the Russian army for the sake of plunder. His disappointment and perplexity caused him to move slowly, and he did not reach Fokshany until the 20th, when his little force was joined by two hundred men, a mixture of Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Wallachians, who had been concerned in the outrages at Galatz, from which port they had brought two light guns, taken

from a vessel lying there. Their leader was an Arnaut officer named Caravia, whom Ipsilanti at once made a General of Division, thereby greatly offending Dukas and Manos.

After a week of total inaction a council was held, in which the jealousy and dislike with which Caravia was regarded were manifested in a quarrel between that officer and Dukas, who advised different courses. The latter proposed a rapid advance to Bucharest, and, this being approved by Ipsilanti, Dukas pushed forward with the vanguard, and reached that city on the 8th of April. Ipsilanti was joined on the way by two hundred Greek horsemen, led by Georgaki, one of the most heroic of the Greek patriots, whose accession raised the insurgent force to twelve hundred. The advance of the main body continued to be slow, Ipsilanti having doubts of the fidelity of Vladimiruko, who, on his part, secluded himself, declaring that he feared treachery from Sava.

A great number of young Greeks had by this time arrived from all the neighbouring countries, and Ipsilanti formed them into the Sacred Battalion, the command of which was given to Prince George Cantazucene. The men of this corps were clothed in black, like the German volunteers of the Tugendbund, and displayed on their breasts a cross with the words, "In this sign you shall conquer," which, according to tradition, had blazed along the cross seen by Constantine in the heavens. The rest of the force was formed into two divisions, which were commanded by Ipsilanti's brothers.

The Wallachians did not respond to the call of the Hetairists with more enthusiasm than the Moldavians,

however, and Ipsilanti found himself at once confronted with a Turkish army, unsupported by the people and disavowed by the Czar. On the 9th of April two proclamations appeared at Jassi in the name of the Czar, one summoning Ipsilanti and his partisans to surrender and receive the punishment due to them as disturbers of the public peace, the other calling upon the Moldavian insurgents to submit themselves to the lawfully constituted authorities. The Moldavian council of Boyards immediately assembled, demanded the resignation of Prince Michael Soutzo, who abandoned his post in dismay, and proclaimed the Hetairists as traitors and rebels.

Ipsilanti was at Messid, on his way to Bucharest, when he heard of these proclamations, and received letters from Count Nesselrode and Count Capo d'Istria, reproaching himself bitterly for his rashness and folly, and advising him to avoid hostilities with the Turks, and make the best terms he could with the Sultan. Consternation fell upon the whole force, and Georgaki headed a deputation of officers to learn from Ipsilanti what private instructions he had from the Czar. He would give no explanation, but immediately directed his march towards the western borders of Wallachia, ostensibly for the purpose of rousing the Servians, but really that he might be near the Austrian frontier in the event of danger.

Vladimiruko shut himself up with a few followers in the monastery of Kotroczeni, near Bucharest, and opened negotiations with the Pacha of Silistria, through the *kaimakan*, or deputy, of Prince Charles Callimachi, with the view of making his peace with the Porte by betraying the Hetairia. At the same time he was

corresponding with the fugitive Boyards in Transylvania, in the hope of inducing them to solicit from the Sultan his nomination to the Hospodarship as the reward of his services.

Ipsilanti had resolved not to abandon the enterprise without a fight, and, entrenching himself at Tergovisht, sent Georgaki to occupy the road from Bucharest to Hermanstadt, and Dukas to hold that from the former city to Kronstadt. The lead was stripped from the roof of the ancient cathedral to make bullets, and an attempt made to purchase gunpowder in Transylvania. In this he was unsuccessful, but a supply was intercepted which some of the fugitive Wallachian Boyards had sent from Kronstadt for the use of Vladimiruko. The situation was, however, precarious and unpromising. The Arnauts plundered the neighbouring villages, the Greeks would obey only their own officers, dissension was renewed between Dukas and Caravia, and the treachery of Vladimiruko soon became more than suspected. A week after the insurgents reached Tergovisht a courier was intercepted between Bucharest and Giurgevo, bearing letters which showed that Vladimiruko was offering to sell the Hetairia to the Sultan for the Hospodarship; and a day or two afterwards another was seized on his way from Kronstadt to Bucharest with letters from the fugitive Boyards, which proved that Vladimiruko had secured their support to his ambitious design.

There being as yet no Turkish troops in the principalities, the Hetairists were able to traverse them in every direction without encountering any resistance; and, on the 23rd of April, Pentedekas appeared in Jassi, and at the head of two hundred men seized the palace,

overthrew the Divan, and restored the authority of the Hetairia. The Turks at length crossed the Danube, and, on the 13th of May, Yussuf Pacha, with two thousand men, attacked Galatz, which was defended by two hundred Greek sailors, under a captain named Athanasius. The defence was heroic, but the Greeks were overpowered by numbers, and at night set fire to the town and retreated to Jassi. Yussuf Pacha hesitated to advance into the interior, however, and on the 22nd Prince George Cantazucene entered Moldavia with a thousand horsemen, and advanced rapidly to the capital, disregarding the order of Ipsilanti for his return, which was sent after him on a Turkish force marching towards Bucharest.

Four thousand Turks entered the Wallachian capital on the 27th, and Vladimiruko, having made terms for himself with the Pacha of Silistria, withdrew in the night, with four thousand Wallachians, four guns, and two hundred and fifty mounted Servians and Bulgarians, with the aim of turning Ipsilanti's right, while the Pacha attacked in front. The Grand Arch had succeeded, however, in organising a conspiracy against him among his officers, through Provan and Makedonski, the latter a Russian of Greek descent, who had been a captain in the Russian army; and on reaching Goleshti he was met by Georgaki and his Greeks, arrested in his own camp, and taken a prisoner to Tergovisht. On being taken before Ipsilanti and reproached with his treachery, he protested his innocence, and declared that he had been trying to draw the Turks into a snare; but the proofs of his treason were plain, and, at a word from Ipsilanti, Caravia and Lassani cut him down with their sabres, and despatched

him on the spot. His followers joined the insurgents, whose strength was raised by their junction to six thousand men and seven guns, exclusive of the force at Jassi.

The Turks continued to advance, and, in addition to the troops marching from Bucharest, another body was moving up from Kalafat. Ipsilanti proposed to break up his camp and march against the latter force, and, having defeated it, to turn upon the Pacha of Silistria; but the movement was delayed until the enemy was close upon him, and, though Dukas repulsed the vanguard of the Pacha, he was compelled to fall back upon the main body. Dukas defeated the Turks again on the 8th of June, but not being supported by Colocotroni, who declined to fight in the dusk, he was obliged to retire within the entrenchments. The Turks then attacked a small redoubt held by some Greeks, who repulsed four assaults, but abandoned the post on the enemy's guns opening fire upon it.

The insurgents retreated under cover of the night in some confusion, and many of the Wallachians deserted on the march. In a few days, however, they were in a strong position behind the Dumbovitza, where Ipsilanti resolved to make a stand. The Pacha hesitated to attack them, as the river is deep and the bridge crossing it narrow; but Caravia, always headstrong, and on this occasion intoxicated, led his Arnauts across the bridge, without orders, and the Sacred Battalion, seeing the enemy fall back, were impelled by their enthusiasm to follow. They had no sooner crossed the bridge than a large body of Turkish cavalry made an impetuous charge, drove back the Arnauts, captured the standard of the

Hetairia, and made terrible havoc in the ranks of the Greeks, who vainly strove to stem the torrent. Georgaki charged at the head of a hundred Greek horsemen, recovered the standard, and rescued the remnant of the Sacred Battalion, who lost three hundred and fifty of their number. About thirty of the Arnauts and twenty of Georgaki's devoted band were also slain, and by this result of Caravia's misconduct the last hope of Ipsilanti was destroyed. He retreated northward, unpursued by the enemy, and immediately prepared to abandon the enterprise, and take refuge beyond the Austrian frontier.

Having obtained the permission of the Austrian authorities to proceed to Hermanstadt, he sent off most of his troops in different directions, and crossed the frontier, accompanied by his brothers, Colocotroni, Garnofski, a Greek officer named Orfanos, and his secretary, Lassani. On arriving at Hermanstadt, however, he was arrested, and confined in the Castle of Mongatz, in Hungary. His broken bands, deserted by their General, hovered for some time on the frontier. Manos crossed it, and made his escape. Dukas, after being forced across it by the Turks, and driven back again by the Austrians, made his way into the Carpathian mountains with six hundred men. Attacked by a superior force of the enemy, they made a desperate resistance until the last cartridge had been fired, and then dispersed over the frontier. Their leader, after many perilous adventures, escaped in disguise into Bessarabia.

Georgaki led his troops by byways into Moldavia, whence, being attacked and defeated, they retreated in good order into Transylvania, recrossing the

frontier into Wallachia, and again made their way into Moldavia. Diamantis, with a few Greeks, defended a monastery with great bravery for two days, capitulating only when the ammunition was exhausted; but the capitulation was violated by his immediate execution. Oglou, after holding a monastery against the Turkish force for three days, repulsed the assailants, and escaped by night through the passes of the Carpathians. Caravia, Provan, and Makedonski wandered about the mountains for some time, and at length, having succeeded in bribing some Austrian officials on the frontier, made their escape into Transylvania.

The Turks did not march against Jassi until the end of June, when the insurgents withdrew, and posted themselves at Stringa, a village on the Pruth. Thence, on the Turks entering the capital, they retired to Skuleni, where Prince George Cantazucene quarrelled with Pentedekas, and proceeded to Kishenev. Athanasius then assumed the command, and repulsed the attack of a strong Turkish force on the 29th, the enemy being placed at a disadvantage by the proximity of the Pruth, which the presence of a Russian force on the other side prevented them from crossing. A second attack was more successful, the entrenchments being carried with great slaughter, and Athanasius and most of his officers being among the slain.

Georgaki still hovered about the eastern slopes of the Carpathians, now and then surprising and cutting up small detachments of the enemy. On being approached in his fastnesses by six thousand Turks, he was warned by the Imperial Commissioner of the

Bukovina, and offered an asylum in Austrian territory; but the fate of Ipsilanti made him fear treachery, and, being urged by the Grand Arch to maintain his position as long as possible, and assured that war between Russia and Turkey was imminent, he occupied the passes, and took post in a monastery with a hundred of his followers. The Turks, guided by a Moldavian peasant, turned his position, however, by means of a mountain path, and, the passes being abandoned, he was surrounded in the monastery by an overwhelming force. After a desperate defence, he blew up the magazine, but the force was insufficient to destroy the building; and the Turks stormed the burning ruins, and put all the survivors to the sword, except three, one of whom, an officer, was afterwards executed at Constantinople.

In the meantime, the revolt had commenced in the Morea, where the flag of the Hetairia was raised on the 2nd of April by Colocotroni, a relative of Ipsilanti's officer of that name, who had held the rank of major in the Russian army, but having made an abortive attempt to raise an insurrection in the Morea early in the century, had since lived in retirement at Zante. Kalavryta was occupied without resistance, and on the 4th the Greeks rose in Patras, fired the quarter inhabited by the Mahomedans, and during three days maintained with the Turkish garrison a sanguinary conflict in the streets. No quarter was given on either side, and the battle raged with all the fury imparted by the double antagonism of race and creed until the scale was turned in favour of the insurgents by the arrival of a large body of peasants from the neighbouring villages. They came into the town under

the leadership of the Prelate Germanos, and headed by their priests, singing psalms, and promising salvation and eternal felicity to those who died fighting for their faith. Aided by these auxiliaries, the insurgents made a final rally, and the Turks withdrew into the citadel, from which their guns poured shot and shell upon the town below.

Colocotroni proclaimed the independence of Greece, and as the news spread through the Morea, the Greeks rose in every town and village, and the Turks withdrew into the fortresses. In a few days the revolt swept over the Morea and the islands, and only Corinth, Coron, Modon, Tripolitza, Napoli, and the citadel of Patras remained in the possession of the Turks. From the Morea the spirit of revolt spread into Attica, and the garrison of Athens, unable to hold the town against the superior numbers of the insurgents, retired to the Acropolis.

Sultan Mahmoud felt the ground heaving beneath his feet, and adopted energetic measures of precaution against a rising in Constantinople. Prince Constantine Morousi was arrested on the 16th, charged with maintaining a treasonable correspondence with Ipsilanti, and instantly beheaded; and on the following day ten more of the most illustrious Greeks of the capital suffered a like fate. Then the Mahomedan rabble rose, as the Christian rabble had done at Jassi and Galatz, and retaliated for the atrocities there committed by hanging the Patriarch Gregorius before the doors of his own church, murdering several priests and laymen, co-religionists and sympathisers with the rebels, and dragging their corpses about the streets. Archbishop Cyrillus and eight other dignitaries of the

Greek Church were beheaded at Adrianople; and between four and five hundred Greek workmen were arrested in the capital, and, as a precautionary measure, transported to distant parts of the Empire.

The Hetairist chiefs of the Morea met at Calamata on the 9th of April, under the presidency of Mavromichalis, to concert a plan of operations; and, on their separation, Colocotroni marched against Tripolitza, repulsed a sally of the garrison, and, though afterwards defeated, rallied his followers, and occupied the defiles between that town and Karytena. The citadel of Patras was relieved by Yussuf Pacha on the 15th, however, and, on the insurgents evacuating the town, the garrison sallied out, fired the Christian quarter, and massacred all the Greeks they could find. By the exertions of Vlassapoulos, hundreds were enabled to get aboard the vessels in the harbour and escape to the Ionian Islands, and others were concealed in the houses of the foreign consuls and merchants. Ahmed Bey then marched with three thousand men along the shore of the Gulf of Lepanto to relieve Corinth, which was beset by an insurgent force from Megara. The siege was raised on his approach, however, and he turned towards Argos, which the Greeks seemed disposed to defend, but fled from at the first discharge of the Turkish cannon.

Argos was pillaged and burned by the enemy, and then Ahmed Bey followed the insurgents to the monastery and ruined castle to which they had fled. Shot and shell soon fell fast upon the Greek position, and the defenders of the monastery capitulated, while those who had taken refuge in the ruined castle retreated into the hills under cover of the night. The

Turks then advanced towards Tripolitza, and the Hetairist chiefs met at Leondari, where it was resolved to risk a battle. Their forces took up a strong position in the hills, therefore, their centre being a village called Valtezza, and their right and left on higher portions of the hills. Here, when attacked on the 27th of May, they repulsed three assaults of the enemy, who finally fell back on being suddenly assailed on their right flank by Colocotroni.

On the following day the conflict was renewed, and the Turks suffered a defeat, losing two guns and four hundred men, while the loss of the Greeks did not exceed a hundred and fifty.

The moral effect of this victory was very great, though the immediate advantage gained by the Greeks was inconsiderable. They defeated the Turks again on the 31st at Doliana, where, firing from loopholed houses, they repulsed every attack for eleven hours; and, elated with their success, encamped within sight of the domes of Tripolitza. The news of these victories spread rapidly through the Morea, and in a few days twenty thousand Greeks were in arms for the expulsion of the Moslems. Had they been united and commanded by an able General, their object might soon have been accomplished; but they would follow only their own chiefs, like the Scottish clans, and each chief assumed an independent command. The Grand Arch had provided a Generalissimo in the person of Prince Demetrius Ipsilanti, brother of Prince Alexander, and formerly a captain in the army of Russia. He travelled from Kishinev to Trieste in disguise, and embarked at that port for Hydra, accompanied by Anagnostopoulos, a member of the Grand Arch;

Prince Gregory Cantazucene, the Chevalier Affendouli, Count Mercati, Vambas, ex-rector of the college of Scio; a Russian officer named Sala; Candiotti, formerly valet to Capo d'Istria, and now his confidential agent; and several Greeks from the south of Russia.

Ipsilanti arrived in the Morea a fortnight after the battle of Valtezza, and claimed the supreme command of the insurgent army, at the same time submitting to the Greek chiefs a draft of a Constitution. They rejected both his claim to supreme command and his political scheme, though threatened by Candiotti with the displeasure of the Czar if they persisted; but, on Ipsilanti declaring that he would leave Greece, he was invited to assume the command, and his claim apparently acquiesced in. The siege of Tripolitza was immediately commenced with ten thousand men, and the Porte was too much occupied with Ali Pacha to attempt its relief.

Towards the end of June, Count Andreas Metaxa, with between two and three hundred Cephalonians, landed on the coast of Elis, where they were joined by four hundred Zanteotes, both bodies being well armed. These Ionian volunteers marched immediately against Lalla, which Metaxa, with the clannish feeling of the Greek chiefs, summoned to surrender in his own name, as "General of the United Armies of Cephalonia and Zante." The inhabitants, mostly of Albanian descent, resented this style so much that they forwarded the summons to Yussuf Pacha, who sent it to Sir Thomas Maitland, High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, and immediately marched to Lalla. Metaxa having been joined by some hundreds of Greek peasants, a sharp engagement ensued, ending

in the retreat of both sides, the Turks retiring first to Lalla, and then to Patras, while the Greeks withdrew to the hills.

Ipsilanti and Metaxa were followed closely by Prince Alexander Mavrocordato. On the 10th of July a vessel under the Russian flag entered the port of Marseilles, having on board Mavrocordato, his cousin Constantine Caradja, and Theodore Negris, who, having been appointed Ottoman Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, had thrown his credentials into the sea on hearing of the insurrection in the Morea. They had shipped a quantity of arms and ammunition, and were joined by several of their compatriots from the universities of France and Germany, and by fifty French and Italian sympathisers, mostly in the military services of their respective countries. The vessel then sailed for the Morea, and on leaving the port the Red Cross, which has since distinguished the national flag of Greece, was substituted for the Russian jack, amidst the roar of a salute, and enthusiastic cries of "Vive la liberté!" On the 3rd of August the Hetairists and their foreign sympathisers disembarked at Missolonghi, with the view of aiding the revolt in Continental Greece, where the Hetairia had not taken root so deeply as in the Morea, and the people were, therefore, less prepared for a rising.

The movement north of the Gulf of Lepanto had commenced, however, on the 13th of April, when Diakos, who had served under Odysseus when that chief was in the service of Ali Pacha, appeared before Thebes, with three hundred men, and occupied the town without resistance, the garrison retiring to Negropont. Being joined by a great number of the

peasants, he marched against Livadia, which was surrendered after a siege of fourteen days. Odysseus himself appeared shortly afterwards in Phocis, having come in disguise from Ithaca to Patras, and crossed the Strait of Lepanto in a fishing-vessel. Early in June the revolt spread through Etolia and Acarnania, and Odysseus was soon at the head of a considerable force, which defeated the Turks in several skirmishes and captured the fortress of Salona. About the same time an insurgent force from the classic region of Olympus attacked Salonica, but, being repulsed, withdrew into their mountains, in the wild passes of which they turned upon their pursuers and defeated them. The Turks overrun Thessaly and Livadia without opposition, however, and Odysseus, after defeating them in several skirmishes, fell back on the pass of Thermopylæ. On the 6th of September the Turks attacked him in that strong position with a force numerically much superior, and forced the pass, though with heavy loss; but, being attacked in flank, they were routed with great slaughter, and lost seven guns. Two days afterwards, Odysseus beat them again, and took three more guns. The enemy then retreated into Thessaly.

Mavrocordato's first step was the convening of an Assembly of Deputies from the provinces of Continental Greece; but the appearance of a Turkish fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto so alarmed the deputies that the convention was not held until November, when they assembled at Salona, under the presidency of Negris, and adopted a scheme of Government for the eastern districts. Mavrocordato strove to organise the western districts also, but the intractability of the

chiefs, and their feuds with each other, baffled his patriotic endeavours.

Tripolitza had, in the meantime, fallen. On the 5th of October a sudden assault was made by a company of the besieging force, led by a captain named Kephalus, who scaled the wall, planted the Greek flag on a tower, and turned the guns on the town. The signal thus given, a general assault was made, the gates forced, and an indiscriminate massacre made of the defenders and the Mahomedan inhabitants, the former being enfeebled by famine and reduced by disease, and panic-stricken by the suddenness of the assault. The town was then pillaged and burned, and Ipsilanti found himself well provided with cannon, muskets, and ammunition. The large force which had been engaged in the siege was then broken up. Colocotroni and Germanos regarded Ipsilanti with jealousy and distrust, and disputed the extent of his authority; and Prince Gregory Cantazucene withdrew from him to combine with Mavrocordato, but lost heart and left the country. Colocotroni led one division to Corinth, to strengthen the besiegers of that place, which surrendered in the middle of November; Germanos directed another against Patras, where he was joined by Mavrocordato; and Ipsilanti, with a third, besieged Napoli. Colocotroni alone was successful; Yussuf Pacha drove the Greeks out of Patras on the 3rd of December, with great slaughter, and Ipsilanti was repulsed before Napoli on the night of the 15th, when an attempt was made to carry the place by escalade.

Ipsilanti had issued circulars, convening a National Assembly at Argos, and thither went Mavrocordato,

Germanos, Negris, and all the leading men of the country. They had scarcely met when a dispute arose concerning the Governorship of Tripolitza, to which Ipsilanti had appointed Sekeris. A compromise was arranged by the separation of the civil and military functions, and investing the son of Colocotroni with the latter; and the assembled deputies then proceeded to discuss the draft of a Constitution, which had been drawn up by an Italian named Gallina. The political future of Greece having been, for the time, settled on a Republican basis, the presidency of the executive council was almost unanimously conferred upon Mavrocordato, who, besides possessing greater capacity for administration than Ipsilanti, was recommended by his not aspiring to military command, or to the absolute authority at which his rival was suspected of aiming.

The independence of Greece was proclaimed by the National Convention at the commencement of 1822, and the Constitution was promulgated shortly afterwards. That instrument established civil and religious freedom, security to person and property, equal eligibility for office, and independence of the judges. The executive power was vested in a council nominated by the Senate, consisting of five members; it had the power of declaring peace and war, and was invested with the supreme direction of affairs, but its members were elected only for one year, and were amenable to the Senate for misconduct in the performance of their duties. The legislative power was vested in the Senate, elected by the people, conjointly with the executive council, which entered immediately upon the discharge of its functions. The Convention,

having performed its task, declared itself dissolved; and the seat of Government was removed to Corinth.

The fall of Janina shortly afterwards set a large Turkish force at liberty, and, with the view of preventing it from being sent to the Morea, Mavrocordato proceeded to Missolonghi, with eight hundred men only, a large proportion of whom were Italian, Polish, Swiss, French, and German sympathisers, recruited by the Philhellenic committees, and commanded by Count Normann. Mavrocordato had little capacity for military command, however, and he was defeated with great slaughter, the foreign battalion being almost destroyed. The Pacha of Salonica, with fifteen thousand men, forced the classically famous pass of Tempé, where Odysseus vainly strove to stem the invasion with six thousand Greeks; and, joined by Kurschid Pacha, with thirty thousand men, poured through Livadia like a torrent.

Corinth was surrendered by the treachery of a priest, and the invaders advanced to Argos, which they occupied without resistance, the Government, who had returned to that town, hastily removing to Tripolitza. Ipsilanti marched immediately to intercept the enemy in their advance to Napoli, and, being joined by Colocotroni, with three thousand men from Corinth and a great number of the peasants of Argoli, confronted the Turks with twelve thousand men. Mahmoud Pacha paused, and, in alarm for his communications, resolved to retreat; but Niketas was in his rear, with three thousand men, and his passage of the defile of Tretes was accomplished only with the loss of five thousand men, besides all his artillery, stores, and baggage. Yussuf Pacha then found himself

invested in Corinth, for Mahmoud Pacha did not pause in his retreat to relieve him; and the Acropolis of Athens becoming untenable through famine, its capitulation freed Attica.

On a dark night, and while rain was falling heavily, the brave Marco Bozzaris surprised and captured the citadel of Missolonghi, and the Turks evacuated the town, leaving four hundred guns and an immense quantity of military stores of all kinds in the hands of the victors. The siege was soon undertaken by the Turks, who, on the 5th of January, 1823, made an assault in great force, but, being six times repulsed, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, raised the siege, and retired to Prevesa. Niketas defeated a Turkish force which was endeavouring to fight its way from Corinth to Patras, and Bozzaris checked every attempt of the enemy to enter Acharnania.

The political status of the Hetairia did not keep pace, however, with the successes of its military chiefs. The Greek Government accredited Count Metaxa to the Congress of Verona to obtain admission into the European system, but the application was rejected, and the envoy not even admitted. On the Senate assembling at Astros, it was found that the elections had been so irregularly conducted that some districts had sent more deputies than had been assigned to them by the Constitution. The representatives broke up into a number of groups as soon as they met, and the debates, irregular from the first, soon became stormy. A conflict seemed imminent, when Mavrocordato arrived, and for a time reconciled the factions by declining to be nominated for the executive council, and accepting instead the post of

secretary. Mavromichalis was voted to the presidency, and Metaxa, Zaimis, and Karalambi became his colleagues, the fifth place, vacant for some time, being subsequently filled by Colocotroni. The military command of the Peloponnesus was also given to that chief, while Bozzaris received that of the western provinces of Continental Greece, and Odysseus that of the eastern provinces. Metaxa was shortly afterwards accused of a violation of the Constitution, and removed by the Senate, Coletti being nominated to succeed him.

Odysseus still barred the advance of the Turks through the pass of Thermopylæ, and being joined by Colocotroni and Niketas, took up a strong position near the ruins of Ascoa, at the foot of Mount Helicon. After some desultory fighting, the Turks, nearly four times the number of the Greeks, made an attack in force on the 3rd of July; but were defeated with heavy loss, and forced to retreat. Attacked in the pass of Cephisus, and again defeated, with fearful slaughter, they retired to Trikala. The citadel of Corinth, which they had made such exertions and such sacrifices to relieve, capitulated soon afterwards; and on the 19th of August, Bozzaris made a night attack on the camp of the Pacha of Scodra, who had advanced to Carpenitza, and surprised and routed him, taking a thousand prisoners and seven guns, with very little loss. Bozzaris was himself among the slain, however, and the Greeks, deprived of their leader, fell back upon Missolonghi, which was shortly afterwards besieged by twenty thousand Turks. The town was subjected to a fierce bombardment, but the Greeks

held out, and the Pacha, not venturing an assault, raised the siege.

Dissensions continued to be rife, both in the Council and the Senate. Mavromichalis resigned the presidency, and was succeeded by Colocotroni, who was so little in accord with the Senate that he projected a *coup d'état*, which was to be effected by his son and Niketas. The Senate, suspecting his designs, removed to Kranidi, declared its sittings permanent, and deposed the whole of the Council. The Morea was divided by the dispute, and the condition of the country became deplorable. The military chiefs refused obedience to the central power, and levied forced contributions for their own separate purposes. Money, arms, and volunteers continued to be forwarded by the Philhellenic committees, however, and among the last came, early in January, 1824, Lord Byron and Colonel Stanhope. The noble poet did much, by his influence and liberality, to restore order and organise the military resources of the country, but he did not live long enough to accomplish his aims.

The impeachment of Mavromichalis and Karalambi was followed by the defection of Niketas from the party of Colocotroni, who thereupon resigned. The new council consisted of Conduriotti, the president, an amiable and honest man, but incapable; Bottasi, whose character was of the same type; Coletti, a very able man, who had been physician to Ali Pacha; Londos, brave, but debauched and tyrannical; and Spigliotaki, who was a faint copy of Conduriotti. Colocotroni and Mavromichalis prepared to resist their authority, and Ipsilanti, who had lately lived in seclu-

sion at Tripolitza, proceeded to Kranidi for the purpose of procuring their reinstatement; but he experienced a very cool reception from the Senate, and failed in his object.

The Greek revolutionary movement was at this time escaping, in a great measure, from the direction of the Hetairia, or rather of the Grand Arch. The Hetairists were divided into several parties, with various and irreconcilable aims. Prince Demetrius Ipsilanti having proved a failure, Count Capo d'Istria was now intriguing for supremacy, in the interests of Russia, through Colocotroni. Mavrocordato knowing that the Great Powers would not recognise a Greek republic, aimed at securing the national independence by the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, and had already suggested the candidature of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; Odysseus was dreaming of a separate kingdom north of the Gulf of Lepanto; and Mavromichalis had not resigned the hope of becoming the ruler of the Peloponnesus. The general election of 1824 resulted in the return of a majority opposed equally to the aims of those who would have divided the country into several small States of the ancient pattern, and those who aimed at making her a dependency of Russia; and the only change in the Council was the substitution of Fotilla for Londos.

The Senate now met at Argos again, and, after an attempt made by Odysseus, aided by Negris, to organise a separate representation at Salona, its authority was generally acknowledged as the only legitimate expression of the national will. The charge against Mavromichalis of treasonable correspondence with Ibrahim Pacha having been pronounced by a Com-

mittee of the Senate false and calumnious, Colocotroni felt encouraged to renew his own designs, into which he drew Fotilla, Londos, and Zaimis—an able and eloquent man, but haughty and ambitious. Fotilla was immediately removed from the Council by a resolution of the Senate, and Bottasi dying about the same time, the vacancies were filled by the latter's brother and Constantine Mavromichalis, brave men, but destitute of administrative ability. The conspiracy failed; young Colocotroni was killed in an affray at Tripolitza; Londos, Zaimis, and Niketas, finding the Council on the alert, withdrew to the island of Kalamos; Colocotroni surrendered himself, and was imprisoned in the monastery of St. Elias, in the island of Hydra.

While these divisions were agitating the Morea, Ghouras, a brave but rude and uncultured chief, had defeated, on the classic plain of Marathon, a Turkish army which had invaded Attica from Negropont; and Odysseus, with four thousand Greeks, had overthrown ten thousand Turks under Valesi Bey in the defiles of Grevia. Attempting to reach Salona, the enemy was again defeated in the passes of Parnassus, and retreated to Salonica. But, having concluded a truce for Livadia without the authority of the Council, Odysseus found himself abandoned by his troops, and, surrendering to Ghouras, was imprisoned in a tower of the Acropolis. On the 17th of June, 1825, his corpse was found, with many bones broken, at the foot of the tower; but whether his death occurred by mischance, in attempting to escape, or, as some suspected, by the act of assassins, is a mystery as inscrutable as that which veiled the death of Pichegru.

The arrival of an Egyptian army in the Morea in

the last days of February, 1825, turned the scale once more in favour of the Porte. Ibrahim Pacha besieged Navarino in March, and on the 19th of April attacked and routed the Greek army under Conduriotti, which had occupied the route from Modon to Navarino, and cut him off from his base. Redschid Pacha invested Missolonghi about the same time, and, after a desperate sortie on the 22nd, when eighteen hundred of the defenders cut their way through the Turks, and succeeded in reaching Salona, the place was taken by assault. On the 8th of May, Ibrahim Pacha, having been repulsed in an attempt to carry Navarino by escalade, attacked and captured the defences on the island of Sphacteria, after a brave defence by Anagnostoras, and the place then capitulated. A month later Arkadia was taken by surprise, and Ibrahim advanced against Tripolitza. Colocotroni, who had obtained his liberty, endeavoured to arrest the invaders in the mountain passes, but his flank was turned, and Tripolitza was occupied without resistance on the 23rd of June. Ibrahim then advanced against Napoli, but his vanguard being repulsed by Ipsilanti, he turned his march towards Argos, which was fired and abandoned on his approach. The Greeks then endeavoured to arrest his return to Tripolitza, but were beaten at the pass of Tricorphæ on the 5th of July.

The state of Greece now became most deplorable. Her rulers and legislators had no hope but in the intervention of one or more of the Great Powers, and were divided into parties as their sympathies or interests inclined them to Russia, or England, or France. Soon after the fall of Navarino, General Roche ap-

peared at Napoli as the agent of the Philhellenic committee in Paris, and tried to make a party to support the candidature of the Duke of Nemours, a boy of eleven years. Coletti favoured this scheme, and drew into it Ghouras; but the French Government, through Admiral Rigny, discouraged it, and it was soon abandoned. Colocotroni continued to support the candidature of Capo d'Istria, and, early in 1826, a wealthy merchant named Varvaki arrived at Napoli from Russia, and made great efforts in the same behalf; but he was very ill received, and retired to Zante, where he shortly afterwards died.

Mavrocordato had, in the meantime, a secret interview with Sir Stratford Canning, and negotiations had been opened between the Council and the British Government. Early in 1827, a motion was made in the Senate by Trikoupi, and adopted unanimously, in favour of placing Greece under the protection of Great Britain. Against this course Ipsilanti made a protest, the result of which, after a stormy debate, was his deprivation of the rights of Greek citizenship by a decree of the Senate. The British Government was not disposed to act independently in the matter, however, and the Duke of Wellington was sent to St. Petersburg, ostensibly to congratulate Nicholas on his succession to the throne, but really to gather his views concerning Greece. An agreement having been arrived at, a joint note was presented to the Porte by the British and Russian Ministers, insisting upon an armistice and the recognition of Greece as a semi-independent State. France formally acceded to this intervention, which was supported by the exhortations of Austria and Prussia; but the Sultan resented it

strongly, and in July, 1827, a treaty was concluded between England, France, and Russia, by which they bound themselves to intervene in Greece on the basis already agreed upon.

Colocotroni and Metaxa continued their intrigues in the Russian interest, which also received the support of Lord Cochrane and General Church, who arrived in the Morea at this time, and received respectively the command of the navy and the army of the infant State. The result was the investiture of Capo d'Istria with the presidency for the term of seven years, a step which most reflecting Greeks regarded with painful feelings, but which the masses accepted as the only alternative which the situation seemed to afford of the anarchy consequent upon the miserable feuds of their own chiefs. Capo d'Istria, who had been for some time resident at Geneva, visited St. Petersburg, London, and Paris while these arrangements were in progress, and, proceeding from the French capital to Ancona, sailed in a British corvette to Corfu, and thence to Napoli. Most of the chiefs sent in their adhesion to him, and his presidency had the unexpected effect of producing greater harmony.

Hostilities in Greece were finally terminated, in the summer of 1828, by a convention concluded at Alexandria between Admiral Codrington and Mehemet Ali, by which the latter agreed to withdraw the Egyptian troops from the Morea; but the French Government had already prepared an expedition for the expulsion of Ibrahim Pacha, and, though General Maison was apprised, on his arrival at Navarino, of the convention of Alexandria, he per-

sisted in disembarking his troops. Ibrahim Pacha acceded to the convention, thus removing any pretext for hostilities; and the Turkish garrisons between the Gulf of Lepanto and the Pindus range withdrew or capitulated. The limits of Greece northward were fixed by a treaty concluded in 1829 between the protecting Powers, the boundary following the natural frontier of the Pindus range from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volo.

Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, who had, in the meantime, been removed from the Castle of Mongatz to that of Theresienstadt, was released in 1827, at the intercession of the Czar, and on the condition of residing within the limits of Austrian territory. Confinement had broken down his health and strength, however, and he may be said to have been liberated only to die. He survived his release only a few months, dying at Verona on the 31st of January, 1828.

Mavrocordato retired into private life on the failure of his project for the establishment of a constitutional kingdom under British protection. Under the arbitrary Government of Capo d'Istria he, for some time, kept aloof from public affairs; but when he thought he could serve his country by so doing, he accepted an important mission to Candia, and organised, in concert with Tombasis, the little fleet of the infant State.

On the assassination of Capo d'Istria, on the 24th of October, 1831, a Provisional Government was established; but the Senate nominated Count Augustine d'Istria in succession to his brother, and convoked a National Assembly, which, after excluding the de-

puties from the islands to obtain a majority in the Russian interest, confirmed the appointment. A conflict ensued, and the minority, led by Coletti and Conduriotti, becoming the majority when the deputies of the islands succeeded in eluding the Russian cruisers, annulled the appointment, and called Prince Otho, second son of the King of Bavaria, to the throne.

During the minority of Otho, Mavrocordato held, for short periods, the Ministry of Finance and the Presidency of the Council, and afterwards received the appointment of Minister of Legation at the Court of Munich. He was subsequently accredited in the same capacity to London, whence, in 1840, when the difficulties of Government were thickening around Otho, he was called to form an administration. He availed of the occasion to represent to the King the necessity of removing the Germans who filled all the offices of State, establishing the political institutions of the country on a sound basis, introducing certain desirable reforms into the Administration, and giving the people some guarantee that their rights would be respected. Finding that his views did not agree with those of the King, he tendered his resignation. His immense popularity accompanied him in his retirement. His abnegation of office, when he could not retain it without a sacrifice of principle, increased it, more especially as he was without fortune, having consecrated his patrimony to the liberation of his country. The Government offered him a pension, as a mark of their appreciation of the services he had rendered to the nation; but he declined it, and his independent and disinterested patriotism augmented

the esteem in which he was held by all classes of his countrymen.

Two years afterwards, the revolution which Otho had provoked by rejecting Mavrocordato's advice rendered necessary the convocation of a National Assembly, for the purpose of framing a new Constitution. Mavrocordato was at that time Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople. Recalled to Athens by the revolution, and elected representative of Missolonghi, he presided for six months, with remarkable talent and dignity, over the most stormy Assembly that had ever been convened in Greece. After the promulgation of the Constitution, he was induced to accept office; but he did so with some reluctance, well knowing that his tenure of power would be precarious. The various sections of the Opposition coalesced against his administration, and offered a furious antagonism to all his measures. In consequence of this factious opposition, he resigned his functions as President of the Council, and, as leader of the Opposition, opposed the arbitrary measures of Coletti to the utmost of his power. In 1848, however, fearing an anarchical movement, as a consequence of the political excitement of the period, he abandoned his opposition to the Government, though without giving it his support.

At the close of 1850 he accepted the appointment of Minister of Legation at Paris, and four years afterwards the political exigences of his country again placed him at the head of the Administration. His tenure of office was brief, however, and on its termination he retired finally to a private station.

In concluding this narrative, it may be interesting, in the present aspect of the Eastern question, to recall the fact that Jeremy Bentham, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Erskine, Lord Ebrington, Sir John Cam Hobhouse (afterwards Lord Broughton), Joseph Hume, Sir James Mackintosh, and Lord John (now Earl) Russell, were members of the London Philhellenic Committee. Among the Philhellenes less generally known were Dr. Taylor* and Major Beniowski, who were subsequently connected with the Chartist conspiracy of 1839. The latter, who was a Pole, came to London, where, for several years, he lived in Bow Street, teaching a system of artificial memory, and inventing logotypes, under the impression that they would be adopted as a means of simplifying and lessening the cost of printing. In 1839 he became associated with the leaders of that section of the Chartists which hoped to accomplish its aim by insurrection, and to whom he was probably introduced by Dr. Taylor. In a private letter from a member of the Chartist Convention of that year he is thus spoken of:—"I have seen Beniowski, and heard him speak, briefly, and I should think him well fitted to exercise influence and acquire authority over men not very capable of thinking for themselves. He was a fine, tall, aristocratic-looking man, and possessed great

* "Dr. John Taylor, some years before the Chartist agitation, had inherited a fortune of thirty thousand pounds, and a valuable mercantile concern. In a very few years he squandered away the one and ruined the other. He was inordinately vain, and used to imitate Lord Byron. He spent the last remains of his fortune in the purchase of a small armed vessel, with which he joined the Greeks. From Greece he got to France, and was there mixed up with the conspiracy for which the two Beaumonts were tried."—*Private letter.*

fluency and no small degree of audacity. He came to us in the latter days of the Convention to ask us to contribute from our funds to assist in the movements of a society, chiefly of foreigners, with which he was connected, but with whom we had no sympathy." This society may have been either the London branch of the Democratic Committee for the Regeneration of Poland, of which some of the leading Chartists were members, or the Polish section of the Association of Fraternal Democrats, a society composed chiefly of political refugees, which held its meetings at the "White Hart," in Drury Lane.*

As briefly noticed in the Preface, it has been very positively asserted by Mr. David Urquhart, whose disposition to see the finger of Russia in every movement that agitates the moral world is well known, that Beniowski "was at the head of the Chartist conspiracy," and "one of the secret committee of five who directed the whole movement."† But this

* George Julian Harney, the editor of the *Northern Star*, was a member of the former society, and the secretary of the English section of the latter, of which also Ernest Jones and Samuel Kydd—the former on the staff of the Chartist organ, and the latter, I believe, on that of the *Daily News*—were members. The Fraternal Democrats were divided into six sections—English, French, German, Scandinavian, Polish, and Hungarian; and their motto, *All men are brethren*, was printed on the cards of membership in twelve languages. On the upper part of the card, over the name of the Association, it appeared in English, French, and German; on the left side, in Dutch, Danish, and Swedish; on the right, in Italian, Spanish, and Romaic; and beneath the member's name and the date of his admission, verified by the signatures of the six secretaries, in Polish, Russian, and Hungarian. Colonel Oborski was the secretary of the Polish section in 1847-48.

† *Diplomatic Review*, July, 1873. The writer adds that the other members were Cardo, Warden, and Westropp, who were all working men, and an individual whom he does not name, but asserts to have

assertion is contradicted by the statements of others who should be better informed, and by the fact that Beniowski acted under the orders of the Committee, and only in a military capacity. Thirty years ago I conversed on the subject with one of those whom O'Connor was wont to term the Old Guards of Chartism, who informed me that Beniowski was merely a military leader, subordinate to the Committee; and in a letter written in 1839 by Dr. Taylor I find this corroborative passage:—"The Pole has not gone to Wales, but a much honester man." Indeed, Mr. Urquhart admits that Beniowski was to have had the command of a division of the Welsh insurgents, a position utterly incompatible with the supreme direction of the movement.

"at that time held a high position in the police." Mr. Urquhart, according to a statement made before the Cercle Catholique by the Abbé Defourny, and reproduced in the *Diplomatic Review* (January, 1873), received his information from "three of the five superior chiefs of the plot—misguided working men, who had not created the conspiracy, but who held in their hands its organisation and execution." But, according to a statement made by Feargus O'Connor in 1850, one of the five was Peter Bussey, a beershop-keeper at Bradford; and Mr. Gammage mentions, in his "History of the Chartist Movement," a man named Lowry, who was supposed, he says, to know more about the conspiracy than any one else. The names of Bussey and Lowry may safely be substituted, therefore, for those of Beniowski and the nameless officer of police.

CHAPTER X.

THE UNITED SCLAVONIANS.

THE organisation whose history has next to be related affords a remarkable instance of the adoption, half a century ago, by a secret association, of the principle of national affinities, which has in more recent times entered so largely into the political arrangements of European States. Thirty years before that principle was recognised by diplomacy in the constitution of the kingdom of Italy, and in the centre of the region dominated by the Holy Alliance, the secret society whose name appears at the head of this chapter proclaimed to the initiated that all Sclavonians were brothers, and that the interests of the Pole and the Russian were the same. While Alexander was refusing aid to the Greeks in his horror of revolution, while his brother Emperor was crushing the revolutionary movements in Italy, and Frederick William was consigning to the cells of Spandau the leaders of the Tugendbund, the intellect and patriotism of Russia were revolting against the leaden despotism of the Czars, and, with the right hand of brotherhood held out to the Poles, conspiring for constitutional government and Sclavonic unity.

The individual mind in which the idea was first conceived is unknown. Like many other great ideas,

it may have germinated in the minds of many at the same time. A number of young officers, belonging to the most distinguished families of Russia, and who had served with the army of occupation in France, after the subversion of the French Empire, had there imbibed revolutionary ideas, which they transplanted to their native land on their return. Many of them had learned in Germany the history of the Tugendbund, and Carbonarism was no mystery after the Neapolitan revolution of 1820. In Russia it was impossible to talk of politics without danger, unless under the veil of secrecy; and a secret organisation, closely resembling that of the Carbonari, was adopted for the purpose of discussing and disseminating the principles which the Holy Alliance, of which Alexander was the founder and the chief, had been called into being to crush out of the human mind.

The precise date of the institution of the Society of United Sclavonians cannot be ascertained. The report of the Imperial Commission of 1826 makes the Society appear to have been in existence in 1817; but, as will be shown presently, the dates given in that document are not to be depended upon. The foreign occupation of France ceased in 1818, but the evacuation was not decided upon until October, and the organisation could scarcely be commenced until the following year. Probably it did not exist until 1820. Prince Metternich is said to have warned Alexander of its existence in 1821,* but the Austrian diplomatist can have had no more than the faintest suspicion on the subject, and the Czar seems to have given no heed to

* Binder's Mémoires de Prince Metternich.

the warning. His refusal to assist the Greeks, with whom much sympathy existed in Russia, on account of community of religion, created a large amount of latent discontent, and the promoters of the United Sclavonian movement availed of it to extend the ramifications of the Society from the army to the educated portion of the civil population.

Like the Carbonari, the United Sclavonians had a constitution and a code, the principal provisions of which, according to the report of the Imperial Commission of 1826, together with the divisions of subjects, the most remarkable ideas, and even the style, show an imitation, and in great part a translation, of the German. The authors declare, in the name of the founders of the Association, that the good of the country is their sole object, and that this object cannot be opposed to the views of the Government; that the Government needed the concurrence of individuals; that the Society which they organised would be to it an auxiliary for effecting good; and that, without concealing their intentions from citizens worthy of participating in them, they would pursue their labours in secret, solely to avoid the misrepresentations of hatred and malevolence. The members were divided into four sections or branches. Each member was to inscribe himself in one of these sections, without, however, being debarred thereby from taking any part in the labours of the others. The first section had for its object the advancement of public and private benevolence. Its duty was to watch over all charitable institutions, and to point out to the directors of such establishments, and also to the Government, the

abuses which might creep in, and the means for remedying them.

The object of the second section was intellectual and moral education, the extension of enlightenment, the foundation of schools, especially on the Lancasterian system, and generally a useful co-operation for the instruction of youth by virtuous examples, and by discourses and writings conformable to such views and to the ends of society. To the members of this second section the superintendence of all schools was confided. They were to inspire youth with the love of everything national, and to oppose as much as possible the influence of foreign ideas. The third section was required to give special attention to the proceedings of the tribunals. Its members engaged not to decline any judicial functions which might be offered them by the choice of the nobility or the Government; to fulfil such functions with zeal and precision; to observe carefully the progress of affairs of this nature; to encourage upright employés, even by granting them pecuniary aid; to strengthen in good principles those who might betray any weakness; to enlighten those who were deficient in information; to denounce prevaricating functionaries, and to apprise the Government of their conduct. Finally, the members of the fourth section were to devote themselves to the study of political economy, to attempt the discovery and definition of the unchangeable principles of national wealth; to contribute to the development of all branches of industry; to strengthen the public credit, and to oppose monopolies.

The directing committee of the Society comprised the most enlightened and patriotic of the younger

members of the nobility, most of whom held commissions in the regiments forming the garrison of St. Petersburg. Prince Troubetzkoi was the Grand Master—an unfortunate selection—the firmness and ability of that young noble being far from commensurate with his ardour. Among the members of the committee were Princes Obolensky, Odoeffsky, Valbolsky, and Volkonsky; Colonel Boulatoff, Major Jakonbovitch, Captains Bestoujif and Kakhofski, Lieutenants Arbouzoff and Rostoftzof, Tourgunoff, a member of the Council of State, and the poet Ryleif, a man of liberal education, enlightened views, and brilliant genius. The Society had its principal ramifications in the capital, and in the armies of Poland and Bessarabia, in which it had many active and ardent propagandists, conspicuous among whom were the gallant Pestel, whose name will go down to posterity with that of Riego, and the brave and patriotic brothers Mouravieff.

The conspirators gradually matured a plan for a general insurrection, the initiative of which was to be taken, as in Spain and Italy, by the army. The object was to obtain from the Czar the boon of constitutional government, in which, and in the institutions to be established under it, the Poles were to be equal participators. The time for the rising was fixed several times, and as often postponed. A certain day in the autumn of 1825 was once decided upon, but a change in the military arrangements caused the execution of the design to be again deferred until the following May. In the meantime the secret of the conspiracy was not so well kept that it did not leak out, but the information acquired by the Czar was

of a vague character, and afforded no grounds for active measures against the authors of the plot. This renewed warning was given by General Wittgenstein, then commanding the army in Bessarabia, and, indicating as it did the existence of treason in the Imperial Guard, it filled the mind of Alexander with horror and dismay.

The secret societies of Western Europe had inspired him with profound uneasiness. He dreaded them more than he had done the armies of Napoleon; their mysterious symbols excited more alarm in his mind than the appearance of a foreign army would have done. His army, and the rigour of a Russian winter, had routed the latter, but the former might undermine in secret the ground beneath his feet. The astounding discovery that one of these mysterious organisations existed in his own realm, even in the capital, in the army, in the Imperial Guard, came upon him like a thunder-clap in winter. To avoid the danger that might be impending, and upon which he could not put his finger, he left St. Petersburg, accompanied by the Czarina, and made a tour through the provinces. But the dreaded thing met him there also. He was warned of the existence of the plot while in Poland by a sub-officer of Lancers named Sherwood,* who was of English descent; and thereupon directed his journey southward, with his mind filled with gloomy ideas, and the image of death ever before him.

Bowed down by these ideas, pursued by a vague terror, he reached the dreary shores of the Sea of

* Kelly's History of Russia. Sherwood was subsequently expelled from the army for misconduct.

Azof, and there, in the little unhealthy town of Taganrog, he was prostrated by fever and erysipelas. Again he heard of the conspiracy—this time from Count Witt; but he was now beyond the fear of sword or dagger—the hand of death was upon him, and on the 1st of December, in a dwelling very different from the Winter Palace, ill provided with even the most ordinary comforts of civilisation, the mighty autocrat expired.

The presumptive heir to the throne was his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, who had for some time occupied the responsible post of Viceroy of Poland, in which capacity he had rendered himself very obnoxious by his vicious and tyrannical conduct. As soon, therefore, as the news of Alexander's death reached St. Petersburg, the Senate proclaimed Constantine as Czar; but it was discovered that the latter had, for certain private reasons, renounced his right to the throne in 1822, by a deed deposited under seal by Alexander with the Senate, together with a decree accepting that renunciation, and nominating the Grand Duke Nicholas as his lawful successor. These documents were now made public, and the wondering people learned that Nicholas, and not Constantine, was to be their sovereign.

The conspirators saw in this strange and unexpected situation, and the uncertainty and perplexity which it occasioned, an opportunity more favourable for the execution of their project than they had hoped for. Believing, from the delay which took place in proclaiming Nicholas, that he was as little ambitious as Constantine was known to be, they resolved to put the latter forward as the lawful Czar, supposing that

Nicholas would then retire, and that Constantine, who cared only for the gratification of his sensual desires and extravagant whims, would be readily induced to grant the proposed Constitution. The occasion of administering the oath of allegiance to the troops was chosen for the manifestation of their purpose, and the preparations for revolt were hastily pushed forward.

A vague hint of the impending danger reached Nicholas, and caused him to resolve that the oath should be administered to each corps separately, in its barracks, to the officers first, and then to the privates. As a further precaution, all the military posts were doubled, and the charge of the Winter Palace, usually assigned to the grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, was given to the regiment of Finland. The morning after Christmas Day was fixed for the ceremony, and it was awaited by the conspirators with an enthusiasm which some degree of anxiety did not diminish. The directing committee was in permanent sitting to receive reports of progress and complete their arrangements. Ryleif is said to have proposed the assassination of Nicholas, and Jakonbovitch the liberation of the convicts and the distribution of spirits to the serfs ;* but these propositions were not adopted. Orders were sent into Bessarabia and Poland for the revolt to be brought about at once.

On the following day, the 25th, Lieutenant Rostoftzof, who is said by some writers to have warned the Czar of the impending danger, made a communication to the committee which led them to suspect that they

* Schnitzler's Etudes sur l'Empire et les Czars.

had been betrayed. For a moment all were silent. The pause was ended by Bestoujif. "We have passed the Rubicon," he said; "now we must cut down all who oppose us." "Yes," added Ryleif, "our scabbards are broken, and we can no longer conceal our sabres. Our forces are sufficient; the Czar does not know all. Have we not an admirable leader?" "Ay, in height," observed Jakonbovitch, in sarcastic allusion to the lofty stature of Prince Troubetzkoi. There was no appearance of shrinking, no symptom of misgiving, however, and the conspirators separated with their resolve unshaken.

With the morning came the crisis. The oath was taken by the cavalry without hesitation or any symptom of disaffection; but in the barrack grounds of the grenadiers of the Imperial Guards, the regiment of Moscow, and the Marines exciting scenes occurred. These corps broke their ranks, shouted "Constantine for ever!" and rushed tumultuously into their barracks for their arms. On General Frederick presenting himself before the regiment of Moscow, Prince Tchechipine ordered his company to fall in, and Captain Bestoujif fired a pistol at the General, who fell from his horse, wounded and insensible. Prince Tchechipine then cut down General Chenchine with his sabre, snatched the standard of the regiment from the ensign who carried it, and, waving it with enthusiasm, cried "Constantine for ever!" The whole regiment repeated the cry, and, in despite of the remonstrances of Count Lieven and Colonel Adlesberg, marched out of the barrack yard, and proceeded to the great square of St. Isaac, the sides of which are formed by the Winter Palace, the Senate House, the

Palace of the Synod, and the Cathedral of St. Isaac. There the regiment formed square behind the equestrian statue of Peter I., and were presently joined by several companies of the grenadiers of the Imperial Guard and a battalion of Marines.

Alison observes that, "if there had been the slightest indecision at head-quarters, the insurrection would have proved successful." The amount of decision exhibited at head-quarters can be best judged of from the facts. The mutinous regiments were drawn up in the square, within sight of the Winter Palace, between nine and ten o'clock, and it was only at eleven that the Czar was informed that the oath had been taken by the cavalry. About noon the defection of the troops was reported to him; but it was not until the middle of the afternoon that he left the palace and placed himself in the midst of the troops, which, by the exertions of Count Alexis Orloff, had by that time been collected for the support of absolutism. These consisted of several squadrons of the cavalry of the Imperial Guard and a battery of horse artillery.

In the meantime, the number of the military insurgents had been nearly doubled by the junction of companies and detachments of other regiments, which raised it to three thousand; while behind the close ranks of the troops stood a great crowd of civilians, armed with pistols or sabres, shouting at intervals, "Constantine for ever! Constantine and the Constitution!" But there was irresolution on the part of the insurgents as well as on that of the Czar. Prince Troubetzkoi, who was expected to have headed the revolt, failed to appear. Colonel Boulatoff

was also, according to some accounts, among the absent, but this is doubtful. He had shown no symptoms of shrinking, and had observed that morning as he loaded his pistols, "We shall see to-day whether there are any Riegos in Russia." Schnitzler, who follows mainly the official report of the commission appointed to investigate the circumstances connected with the conspiracy, pronounces him absent. Kelly, without naming his authority, asserts that he was near the Czar throughout the afternoon. On the other hand, it is alleged that he was among the crowd of civilians.

For some time the antagonistic forces stood gazing at each other, each apparently waiting for the other to make the first move. Even when several battalions of infantry joined the loyal troops the Czar hesitated to adopt any active measures. General Milarodowitch, the Governor of St. Petersburg, at length rode towards the insurgents, and commanded them to return to their allegiance. He was answered by a ringing shout of "Constantine and the Constitution!" and Prince Obolensky rushed at him, musket in hand, with the bayonet pointed at his breast. Milarodowitch wheeled his horse about and avoided the thrust, but at the same moment Kakhofski discharged a pistol at him, and he fell from his horse mortally wounded.

"Who now talks of submission?" cried Kakhofski. The Czar was still irresolute, and a volley from the insurgents, followed by a bold charge with the bayonet, would probably have cleared the square of the supporters of absolutism. But they contented themselves with shouting "Constantine and the Constitution!" and waiting for Prince Troubetzkoi. Suddenly an

ecclesiastical procession filed into the square, headed by the Archbishops of St. Petersburg and Kief, bearing crosses, and passing between the hostile bodies. It was thought that the rebels would disperse at the injunction of the prelates, but as soon as one of them began to speak his voice was drowned by the rolling of the rebel drums.

As the prelates and their array of priests and monks filed out of the square, more troops were brought to the support of the Czar by the Grand Duke Michael, whose exhortations to bold measures at length overcame the apprehension of Nicholas that the troops around him would not fire upon their comrades. The order to charge was given, the cavalry in front and the infantry on the flanks; and the loyal troops advanced with an alacrity that must have been inspiring to the Czar, who had dreaded the effect of the order. The rebels stood firm; a red flash was seen along their front, and a cloud of sulphurous smoke rose in the gloom of early twilight, hiding the combatants from sight. Presently the cavalry were seen retiring, while the rebel ranks remained unbroken. The loyal battalions crossed bayonets with the insurgents, but were beaten back after a sharp conflict, in which Colonel Strosler was slain by Kakhofski, and the Grand Duke Michael had a narrow escape from the sabre of an insurgent, whose arm was seized as it was raised to strike by a rebel Marine.

Again the loyal troops charged the insurgents, to be received with as vigorous a resistance as before. As they fell back again the insurgents advanced in turn, and the issue became more doubtful than ever, though the number of the Loyalists far exceeded that

of the Constitutionalists. Jakonbovitch made a bold attempt to reach the Czar, but the smoke hung heavily in the damp December air, and obscured every object. The loyalists rallied and pushed back the insurgents, with terrible carnage on both sides, owing to the short range at which they fired. Then Nicholas ordered the cavalry to open, and the effect of artillery to be tried; but to his consternation the gunners refused to fire. The Grand Duke Michael applied the match to a gun, however, and, by threats and remonstrances, the gunners were brought to obedience, and a round of grape-shot sent crashing through the rebel ranks.

Even then the insurgents stood firm, and replied to the artillery fire with deadly volleys of musketry. The iron shower made frightful havoc in their close ranks, however, and at the tenth round they broke and fled through the streets leading to the quays of the Neva. The cavalry pursued, cutting down all who resisted, and by six o'clock the roar of cannon, the rattle of small arms, and the shouts of excited combatants were succeeded by an unwonted silence. Seven hundred prisoners were taken, and hundreds of brave men laid dead upon the scene of the conflict and the adjacent streets—how many was never known, for the corpses were deposited during the night in the snow that laid thickly upon the frozen river, and when the thaw of the following spring came were carried by the current into the Gulf of Finland.

Nicholas might well say to the Czarina when he returned to the palace at the close of that terrible day, "What a beginning of a reign!" But if the insurgents had had a more resolute leader than Prince Trou-

betzkoi, and a regiment of horse artillery could have joined them which had been confined in the barracks by the energy of Prince Alexis Orloff, it might have been the *end* of his reign.

The loyal troops bivouacked that night upon the Square of St. Isaac, and immediate measures were taken for the discovery and apprehension of the authors of the conspiracy. Prince Troubetzkoi had retired to the house of his wife's mother, whence, not deeming himself safe there, he took refuge with the Austrian Embassy; but he was surrendered by Count Liebzeltein on the requisition of the Czar, to whose presence he was immediately escorted. At first he denied his participation in any conspiracy, but his papers had been seized, and in them irrefutable evidence of his share in it had been found. On these being shown to him he fell on his knees before the Czar and implored his pardon. "If," said Nicholas, "you have the courage to endure a life of dishonour and remorse, you shall have it, but that is all I can promise." He was then conducted to the gloomy fortress that frowns over the Neva, which soon held many of his braver fellow conspirators.

Poushkin, the eminent poet, had a narrow escape of being implicated in this outbreak. He was a member of the United Sclavonians, and was on his way to St. Petersburg to take part in the revolt, when his coachman, alarmed by some supposed omen, or knowing his master's intention, and pretending to be so, stopped the horses, and wished to return. Poushkin desired him to drive on, but, after vainly imploring his master to abandon the journey, the man dismounted from his seat and threw himself across the

road, disregarding all the poet's remonstrances and threats. The delay thus occasioned prevented Poushkin from reaching St. Petersburg until after the revolt had been suppressed.

The examination of the papers found in the house of Prince Troubeztkoi showed that the ramifications of the conspiracy were more extensive than was at first supposed, and a commission was appointed to investigate the affair. The Czar issued on the 31st a manifesto on the subject, in which, while dealing tenderly with the masses of soldiery who had taken part in the revolt, he threw all the blame on the leaders, "who aimed at overturning the throne and the laws, subverting the Empire, and inducing anarchy." We are forcibly reminded, in reading this passage of the proclamation, of the state of mind which prompted the Duke of Wellington, a few years later, to ask how the Government was to be carried on if the Parliamentary system was purified and the basis of the Constitution extended. The leaders of the United Sclavonians had no intention of doing any of the things imputed to them by the effervescent imagination of the Czar; no conspirators ever had, a combination for the production of social chaos being impracticable. But to minds constituted like the Czar's there is no mean between absolutism and anarchy, no way of reconciling the monarchical principle with popular rights.

In accordance with the view taken in the Imperial manifesto, the mutinous Marines and Grenadiers were pardoned on taking the oaths of allegiance; but it was deviated from in the case of the regiment of Moscow, whose treason had been of a more aggravated character.

The men most deeply implicated in the outbreak were weeded out, and formed into separate companies, which were ordered to serve in the Caucasus for two years.

Ryleif was arrested in his own house, having made no endeavour to escape; and other arrests rapidly followed, many being made on the faintest suspicion, while fresh revelations were made by the accused, or by the papers found in their possession. The commission lauded, in their report, the readiness with which the persons arrested implicated their nearest relatives and dearest friends; but the one-sided statements of persons nominated by an autocrat to execute his will, and whose inquiry was conducted in secret, must be received with caution, if not with distrust. It is known that the police made arrests almost at random, and, as these included persons who were implicated in the conspiracy, the papers found in their possession guided the authorities in ordering other arrests.

Colonel Pestel, who was the soul of the conspiracy in the south, was arrested by Marshal Diebitsch on his own responsibility. He was brave and resolute, able and eloquent, and, from his uprightness and amiability, no less than from his mental qualities, possessed great influence in the army of Bessarabia, and in his own regiment in particular. He was arrested at Moscow, and sent to St. Petersburg for examination by the commissioners, together with a code which he had prepared for the civil administration of the Empire, and which displays a command of the subject not often found in men whose profession is arms. The code was ridiculed by the commis-

sioners, but many of its provisions were subsequently embodied in the code drawn up by order of the Czar.

The most active of the United Sclavonians in the army of Poland were Sergius Mouravieff, colonel of a regiment then stationed at Belain-Tzerskof; his brother Matthew, captain in the same regiment; and Michael Bestoujif, brother of the officer of that name who participated in the outbreak in the capital, and an intimate friend of Pestel. The papers seized at the house of Prince Troubetzkoi incriminating Colonel Mouravieff, an order was sent for his arrest; but he received a timely warning, and evaded apprehension for the time by proceeding to Trilissia. There he was arrested, however, by his friend, Colonel Ghebel, who confined him in his own house; but a party of officers, members of the United Sclavonians, attacked the house, and rescued him, after a brief conflict, in which Colonel Ghebel fell, covered with wounds. His rescuers conducted him to his regiment, which immediately pronounced for Constantine and the Constitution. Captain Roglof, however, courageously addressed the mutineers, telling them that Constantine had renounced the throne, and that Nicholas was the rightful Czar; and the Grenadier company thereupon abandoned Mouravieff, and followed their captain.

Mouravieff lingered three days at Belain-Tzerskof, expecting to be joined by other corps; but the suppression of the insurrection in the capital prevented the spirit of revolt from spreading, and on the 15th of January he marched to Ostinofska, and posted his force on an elevated position. Finding himself hemmed in by the loyal troops, he adopted the bold course of leading the insurgents up to a battery, under

the impression that the gunners would refuse to fire, and that the crisis thus brought about would result in a victory for the Constitutional cause. They were received, however, with a point-blank discharge of grape-shot, by which a great many were killed; they broke and fled, and a cavalry charge completed their discomfiture. Seven hundred prisoners were taken, and among them were Sergius and Matthew Mouravieff, and their younger brother Hyppolite, who were immediately sent in custody to St. Petersburg.

The interrogation of the accused, the examination of papers, and the preparation of the report occupied the commission five months. The Czar was present during many of the sittings, and took part in the interrogation of the prisoners, most of whom bore themselves with undaunted courage and a firmness that never gave way.

"I knew, before I engaged in it," said Ryleif, "that the enterprise would ruin me; but I could bear no longer to see my country under the yoke of despotism: the seed which I have sown, your Majesty may rest assured, will one day germinate, and in the end bear fruit."

Michael Bestoujif was equally firm and courageous. "I repent of nothing that I have done," said he; "I shall die without regret, knowing that I shall soon be avenged." He made terrible revelations of the system of oppression and maladministration then prevalent in Russia, which, with the courage which he displayed, impressed the Czar deeply. "I have the power to pardon you," he observed, "and, if I felt assured that you would prove a faithful servant, I would gladly do so."

"That, sire," returned Bestoujif, "is precisely what

we complain of; that the Emperor can do everything, and that there is no law. Let justice take its course; but, for God's sake, let the fate of your subjects not depend in future on a caprice, or the impression of the moment."

"What had the Emperor done to you?" Nicholas inquired of another of the accused, as if he thought nothing but a personal grievance could excuse a revolt against his rule.

"We had no Emperor," was the reply.

"That fellow should have his mouth stopped with a bayonet!" exclaimed the Grand Duke Michael, affording by the observation a remarkable proof of his incapacity for the exercise of judicial functions.

"Your Majesty asked just now why we desired a Constitution," said the accused, addressing the Czar. "It was, that such things might not be said."

The report of the commission was not presented until the 30th of May. Taking their tone from the proclamation of the Czar, the commissioners denounced the accused as "wretches" and "scoundrels," questioned their courage, ridiculed their aims as "vulgar philanthropy," and sought by vilification and misrepresentation to make them appear to the world as a gang of miscreants, remarkable only for the enormity of their crimes. Designs were attributed to them which they had never entertained, and miserable recantations alleged to have been made by many of them which were, for the most part, more miserable inventions. Great stress was laid upon the alleged design to assassinate the imperial family, though there was no evidence to show that such a purpose was ever entertained. On the contrary, it was

acknowledged that a proposition to assassinate Alexander, said to have been made by one Jakuschkin in 1817, was overruled by Sergius Mouravieff; and that a plan for the destruction of all the imperial family, said to have been brought before a meeting of United Sclavonians held at Kief, in 1823, was rejected. A letter was said to have been written by Michael Bestoujif, proposing the death of Constantine, but it had not been despatched, and there was no proof that it was written by the prisoner whose fame it was produced to blacken.

The commission, composed as it was entirely of military officers, was, in fact, a special court-martial instituted for the trial of political offenders, without the intervention of legal forms, or the permission of the accused to employ counsel or call witnesses for their defence. The conclusion arrived at was, that all the accused were guilty, and it was suggested that the most culpable, to the number of thirty-six, should suffer death by the barbarous mode, practised in the Middle Ages, of breaking all their limbs while bound upon wheels, and then leaving them to perish in horrible torture. Nicholas hesitated to confirm a sentence so appalling in its barbarity, and the execution of which would have affixed an indelible stigma to his name and reign. Six weeks were allowed to elapse, however, between the publication of the report and the announcement of the judgment.

It was then found that from the thirty-six prisoners whom the commissioners proposed to break upon the wheel the Czar had selected five for the capital penalty, not by that horrible mode, but by hanging. These were Ryleif, Alexander Bestoujif, Kakhofski, Pestel,

and Sergius Mouravieff; the remaining thirty-one, including Princes Troubetzkoi, Obolensky, Odoeffsky, Valbolsky, Volkonsky, and Tchechipine, Tourgunoff, Colonel Davidof, and Captain Mouravieff, were ordered to be transported to one of the most remote districts of Siberia, there to pass the remaining term of their existence amidst the hard conditions of life which await the convict in that dreary region. No fewer than a hundred and thirty others were condemned to long terms of imprisonment, the whole of the sentences constituting an eloquent commentary on the declaration of the Czar that none should suffer who had not been the directors of the movement.

There had been no execution in St. Petersburg for eighty years, and the announcement that five of the condemned conspirators were to suffer the extreme penalty caused a thrill of horror to be felt by the entire community. So strong was the public feeling on the subject that it was deemed advisable to keep the time when the executions would take place a profound secret, and for ten days after the announcement of the Czar's judgment the capital awaited in gloom some signal of the event. Two hours after midnight, on the eleventh day, the 25th of July, 1826, the tolling of bells announced the near approach of the hour when the condemned men were to suffer, and from each regiment of the garrison a company marched out, and was drawn up within sight of a gallows that loomed blackly through the morning twilight from the ramparts of the citadel. These comprised nearly the whole of the spectators.

The drums rolled, and the thirty-one prisoners destined for Siberia filed from under a dark arch,

strongly guarded, and were paraded on the ramparts. Their sentences were read to them, the epaulettes of the military prisoners torn from their shoulders, and their swords broken. Then they filed off again, to take their places in the carts in which they were to journey to the remote wilds of Siberia; and the five men who were to suffer death appeared, with their hands bound, and were placed beneath the gallows. The drop fell, and a horrible scene ensued; Pestel and Kakhofski died immediately, but the ropes by which their companions in death were suspended broke with their weight, and they were precipitated to the bottom of the fosse. They were severely bruised by the fall, and Bestoujif was so much hurt that he had to be carried up to the ramparts, for the sentence to be carried into effect. "Can nothing succeed in this country, not even death?" murmured Ryleif, as he painfully raised himself from the ground. "Cursed country, where they don't even know how to hang a man!" said Mouravieff. New ropes were brought, and the unfortunate men were made to suffer the agony of death anew.

The Czar behaved with great liberality to such families of the condemned conspirators as were left in destitute circumstances; but the widow of Ryleif, who was among the necessitous, refused to accept aid from the man whom she regarded as the destroyer of her husband. Meanwhile the exiled nobles and officers were on their way to Siberia, many of them accompanied by their wives and children. Their destination was the village of Tchitmok, on the river Ingoda, between the lake of Baikal and the Chinese frontier. In that dreary spot, thousands of miles from even such

civilisation as that of Russia—and the Irtish, less remote by half the distance, has been called the Styx of the Siberian Hades—they dragged out the remaining term of their existence. In 1840, the Princess Troubetzkoi petitioned the Czar for leave to remove to some place where the climate was milder and where better medical aid could be procured, with facilities for the education of her children; but the lapse of fifteen years had not softened the Czar's heart, and the answer was a stern refusal.

How often, we may imagine, the exiles must have repeated the passage which Ryleif puts into the mouth of a *hettman* of the Cossacks:—

"That which in our dream seemed a glimpse of Heaven was not recorded on high. Patience! Let us wait until the Colossus has for some time accumulated its guilt—till, in hastening its increase, it has weakened itself in striving to embrace the half of the earth. Let it: the heart swollen with pride, parades its vanity in the rays of the sun. Patience! The justice of Heaven will end by lowering it to the dust. In history, God is retribution. He does not permit the seeds of crime to fall, and no harvest to be reaped."

CHAPTER XI.

THE TEMPLARS.

THOUGH the principle of Sclavonic brotherhood ran through the system of the United Sclavonians, the ramifications of that Society do not appear to have extended beyond the Russian army and the best educated portion of the civil population of St. Petersburg. Those among the Poles who aimed at the regeneration of their country were less likely than the Russian Constitutionalists to be attracted by the idea of fusing the two nations into one; they desired rather the restoration of Poland to its former rank as an independent State. While, therefore, the United Sclavonians were working for the establishment of constitutional government, with the resolve of including Poland in the boon. some of the most eminent men among the Poles were arming, with equal secrecy, in the cause of national independence.

Under the influence of the liberal ideas with which he commenced his reign, Alexander had conferred a Constitution upon Poland; but it did not long exist inviolate. After 1815 new ideas took possession of Alexander's mind, and the provisions of the Polish Constitution were constantly set at nought by the Viceroy and his Ministers. Upon the seething mass of discontent thus created there rolled back the tens

of thousands of Polish soldiers who had served in the armies of Napoleon, and imbibed liberal ideas while they acquired military experience and renown. Out of this junction of strength and enlightenment with a burning sense of wrong and injustice arose a secret society called the Templars, instituted in 1822, with the aim of restoring the national independence and establishing a liberal system of constitutional government.

The organisation of this Society resembled that of the United Sclavonians, with which it seems in the early years of its existence to have cultivated amicable relations. The aims of the United Sclavonians naturally disposed them to a friendly understanding with the Templars, whose organisation would have been extremely useful to them if the blood poured out on the Square of St. Isaac on the 26th of December, 1825, had not been shed in vain. The results of the investigation instituted on that occasion led to inquiries being made in Warsaw for traces of ramifications of the United Sclavonian organisation in that capital, and numerous arrests were made there on the system pursued in St. Petersburg of sweeping into the prisons all who were supposed to hold opinions antagonistic to autocratic rule.

Fortunately for the accused in these cases, the Constitution assured them a public trial and the aid of counsel. After a trial protracted over a month, the Supreme Court rejected the charge of treason, and, acquitting the majority of the prisoners, convicted the others of the minor charges of sedition, illegal association, &c., and sentenced them to a few months' imprisonment. This result of the prosecution was

strongly resented by the Government, and the judges, in violation of both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, were reprimanded for their independent and conscientious exercise of their functions.

The directors of the Templars at this time were Mazefsky, by whom the Society had been founded; Soltyk, the senator and historian; and Uminski, Jablonowski, and Krzynanowski, officers holding high rank in the imperial army. The ramifications of the Society extended all over the country, but the affiliations were most numerous in Warsaw, especially among the younger officers of the garrison, the pupils of the military colleges, and the artisans. The French Revolution of 1830 gave a new impulse to the movement, and a wider extension among the students of the universities of Wilna and Cracow. The active directors of the conspiracy at that time were two young sub-lieutenants of the army, named Wysocki and Zalewski, who had acquired great influence among the youths of the military colleges, the former by the decision and moral elevation of his character, the latter by his intrepidity and daring; qualities which always commend their possessor to the young. But behind these there were older heads in which were conceived the projects which the young lieutenants undertook to execute.

Several conferences were held during September, 1830, at the swimming school of Mariemont, near Warsaw, and two projects were considered—one to extend the revolt that had been determined upon to the whole of Poland, including the provinces of Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, which had been incorporated with Russia, and those of Posen and

Gallicia, held respectively by Prussia and Austria; the other, to confine it to the kingdom of Poland, as constituted by Alexander, and the three adjoining provinces on the east. After mature deliberation, the latter plan was adopted, in order to avoid bringing upon the insurgents the armies of three great Powers at the same time. The rising was fixed for the 20th of October, when the military posts in Warsaw would be held by Polish troops, who performed that duty alternately with the Russian regiments. Thirty resolute young men, armed with pistols, were to be told off to shoot the Grand Duke Constantine during his inspection of the troops; while fifty more, armed with sabres, were to cut down the Russian Generals by his side. The defection of ten thousand Polish troops was calculated upon in aid of the enterprise, which was to be followed by the installation of a Provisional Government and the convocation of the Diet.

The arrangements of the conspirators were for the time disconcerted, and the execution of the enterprise was deferred to the 10th of December; but an order being received from St. Petersburg for the army in Poland to be placed upon a war footing, the conspirators conceived the idea that war with France was imminent, consequent upon the revolution in that country, and they hurried on their preparations, in order both to strike the blow before any movement of troops took place which might be fatal to their purpose, and to avert a war which they regarded as an impending calamity to the cause of freedom in every land. The night of the 29th of November was fixed for the rising, therefore, and measures taken for raising the working men of the capital on the signal

being given by the conflagration of a brewery in the northern quarter, and some houses near the arsenal in the southern quarter.

Some mysterious movements in the city, and a vague restlessness which pervaded the inhabitants, awakened suspicion in the mind of Rosnicki, the Director of the Police, and he caused several arrests to be made at random, in the hope of making some discovery among papers, or obtaining some disclosures from the fears of the arrested individuals. No clue was found, however, and he could only exhort the guardians of order to redoubled vigilance. He communicated his suspicions to the Grand Duke Constantine, and the troops were kept on the alert. The garrison consisted of two regiments of infantry, quartered near the arsenal, and three cavalry regiments, whose barracks were near the vice-regal palace, on the south side of the Vistula.

At six o'clock on the evening of the 29th, about forty young men of the military college assembled at the southern end of the Sobieski bridge, between the palace and the arsenal, and watched anxiously for the signals, while awaiting the arrival of Wysocki. A faint light rose for a few minutes and sunk again; the old houses were damp, and the men told off as fire-raisers did not succeed in their object. The police and the military were on the alert, and the non-appearance of Wysocki induced grave uneasiness. At length the young lieutenant came, and, under his direction, a score of the conspirators rushed at the palace, knocked down the sentries, and forced their way into the building, with the intention of seizing the Grand Duke and holding him as a hostage. He

had fled, however, and the conspirators encountered only Lubowiski, the Vice-Director of the Police, whom they shot as he endeavoured to escape at the rear.

There was still no signal from the northern side, and the faint light from the southern quarter had not been observed. The affiliated students continued to arrive at the rendezvous, however, and Wysocki had two hundred followers when he advanced from the deserted palace towards the centre of the city. A regiment of Cuirassiers was drawn up before the cavalry barracks, and the insurgents avoided that locality; but they had not gone far when they found themselves pursued by a squadron of Lancers. They turned, and, with their backs to a garden wall, fired a volley upon their pursuers. The Lancers recoiled, and a second volley caused them to fall back towards the palace. At that moment firing was heard on the northern side, and a red glow on the wintry sky told them that the brewery was in a blaze, and that the insurrection had commenced in that quarter. The retreat of the Lancers was closely followed by the appearance of a regiment of Hussars, however, and before Wysocki's little band could hasten to the support of their compatriots, they had to engage these fresh assailants. They poured a volley upon the advancing foe, and then made a gallant charge with the bayonet. There was a fierce conflict, and many lives were sacrificed before the Hussars were driven back towards the palace.

In the meantime, a battalion of affiliated infantry had marched towards the arsenal, the avenues to which had already been occupied by a company of another affiliated regiment, under the command of Lieutenant

Lipowski. General Zymirski, who commanded the infantry, was a Pole, and, secretly sympathising with the revolutionary movement, he led the remainder of the latter regiment into the Field of Mars, where it was isolated from the scene of conflict, while two battalions of the other moved towards the arsenal. The old houses, which had at first resisted the efforts of the fire-raisers to make them burn, now burst into a flame, and by the lurid light of the conflagration a sanguinary conflict ensued. Generals Potocki and Siementkowski, who, with Hanke, the Minister of War, had hurried to the spot in the hope of averting a disaster, attempted to withdraw the mutinous troops from the movement; but some insulting words used by Siementkowski exasperated them so much that several shots were fired, and Hanke and the General rolled from their saddles, mortally wounded. Potocki was torn from his horse, and received injuries in the struggle which proved fatal.

While the sharp rattle of musketry resounded around the arsenal, the affiliated workmen were gathering in the old town, and the students of the School of Artillery brought up two guns. The conflict, though bloody, was of brief duration. The Russian infantry gave way before the charge of the mutineers, and retired in disorder to the Field of Mars. The gates of the arsenal were then broken open, and fifty thousand muskets distributed among the workmen, who were now turning out in support of the revolution in all parts of the city. This was the crisis of the insurrection. Excitement and confusion reigned on all sides. The insurgents did not know who were directing the movement, and the

authorities, civil and military, knew neither its extent nor their own situation. Constantine had fled to the camp at Wierzbna, a village a few miles distant; his bewildered Ministers had assembled at the Bank, but were unable to take any decided measures; the cavalry awaited orders around the palace, and the infantry stood inactive on the Field of Mars. A body of Polish cavalry, under General Kumatowski, drove back the workmen in the centre of the city, but better armed insurgents came up, and they retreated into the suburb of Cracow.

During the dark hours of early morning the troops, with the exception of those who had fought on the side of the revolution, withdrew from the city, and retired to the camp at Wierzbna. The insurgents remained under arms all night, and occupied in force the palace, the arsenal, and the bridges. Armed bands patrolled the streets, and an uneasy feeling pervaded the minds of those who were not in the secret, and knew not the situation. This, indeed, was not clearly known to anybody until the following morning. Then the imperial eagle, the symbol of Russian domination, was removed from all the public buildings by a band of students of the university; and the armed multitude clamoured for a leader in the person of General Chlopicki, who attracted their regards by his lofty stature and the military renown which he had acquired while serving under Suchet in Spain. He was a mere soldier, a good one, but utterly unfitted to direct the councils of a nation. He might have been of good service the previous evening, when he had secluded himself, and kept aloof from the movement; but it was a man of very different mental calibre that

was required to direct the revolution to a triumphant termination. But the conspirators were now overborne by the masses whom they had stirred into motion, and they had in their own ranks no man of commanding ability to preserve to them the direction of the movement.

General Chlopicki yielded to the popular voice, but, there seeming to be no fighting to be done, was at a loss for measures. He consulted Prince Lubecki, who was a member of the Viceroy's council, and a more able man, but too timid to benefit the movement by his counsels in such a crisis. The result of their consultation was a determination to proceed to the camp at Wierzbna, and endeavour to negotiate with the Viceroy. The Polish nobles in Warsaw assembled, and to them Prince Lubecki communicated his proposition, and the acquiescence therein of Chlopicki. It was agreed that Prince Adam Czartoryski, Count Ladislaus Ostrowski, and Professor Lelewel should, with Lubecki, constitute the deputation to wait upon the Viceroy. They went, and found Constantine in no humour to yield, though not in a position to resist. He consented to the withdrawal from the camp of the Polish brigades commanded by Generals Skrzynecki and Szembeck, and allowed Generals Zymirski and Krasinski to accompany them; but that was the utmost amount of concession that could be obtained from him. The deputation returned to Warsaw with the Polish troops, and Constantine led the Russian regiments towards the Niemen.

The Polish nobles, on receiving the report of the deputation, nominated a Provisional Government, con-

sisting of its members, convened the Diet, and issued on the 10th of January, 1831, a manifesto which justified the revolution by showing the Constitution violated in numberless instances, not forgetting the reprimand administered to the Polish judges in 1826, and its safeguards gradually undermined and destroyed. "The union of the crown of an autocrat and of a constitutional king," said the manifesto, "is one of those political anomalies which cannot long exist. Everybody foresaw that the kingdom would become the germ of liberal institutions for Russia, or succumb under the iron hand of its despotism; the question was soon decided. Public instruction was corrupted; a system of obscurantism was organised; the people were shut out from all means of obtaining instruction; an entire palatinate was deprived of its representation in the Council; the Chambers lost the right of voting the Budget; new burdens were imposed; monopolies were created, calculated to dry up the sources of the national wealth; and the treasury, augmented by these measures, became the prey of venial hirelings, infamous incendiary agents, and despicable spies. Calumny and espionage penetrated even into the privacy of families; they infected with their poison the purity of domestic life, and the traditional hospitality of the Poles became a snare for innocence. Personal liberty, which had been solemnly guaranteed, was violated; the prisons were crowded; courts-martial were instituted to decide in civil cases, and imposed infamous punishments on citizens whose only crime was that of having attempted to save from corruption the spirit and the character of the nation."

About a week before the meeting of the Diet the Provisional Government surrendered its powers into the hands of Chlopicki, who, supported by the army and the populace of Warsaw, assumed a temporary dictatorship. The time was long enough, however, to enable him by the exercise of his power to close the clubs, repress the patriotic aspirations of the people, and send Prince Lubecki to St. Petersburg to renew with the Czar the negotiations which had failed in the camp of Constantine. The terms of accommodation which he proposed were the reunion of Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia with Poland, which had been promised by Alexander, the strict observance of the Constitution, and the withdrawal of the Russian garrisons. Nicholas peremptorily rejected them, and proceeded with his preparations for the conquest of the revolted kingdom.

The Diet met on the 19th, when Chlopicki resigned his powers into its hands, but resumed them, yielding to an almost unanimous resolution. He appointed to the Council of State, Prince Adam Czartoryski, Prince Radziwil, Count Ladislaus Ostrowski, General Dembrowski, the senator Kortellan, and the deputy Barzykowsky. The command of the army was offered to Chlopicki, but he refused it, and it was given, on his recommendation, to Prince Radziwil, a sound patriot, but timid and irresolute.

On the 25th a motion was made in the Diet by Soltyk, the historian, in favour of declaring Poland an independent State. It was opposed by Prince Czartoryski, whose aristocratic prejudices and recollections of Alexander's friendship biased him against the revolution, and the members seemed undecided.

They knew that great preparations were making in Russia for the invasion of their country, and they had begun to be doubtful of help from France. While they were in this wavering state of mind, Count Jezierski, who had accompanied Lubecki to St. Petersburg, rose to read a memorial which had been presented to the Czar on that occasion. Some insulting observations which Nicholas had written on the margin produced considerable agitation in the assembly, and when Count Anthony Ostrowski had supported the motion, and Leduchowski interrupted Count Walewski, who seemed about to reply to him, with a cry of "No more of Nicholas!" the cry was taken up on all sides, and, in the midst of intense excitement, the motion was carried. That night Warsaw was illuminated, and the patriotic fervour once more rose to enthusiasm.

Measures were taken immediately to resist Marshal Diebitsch, who had invaded Poland early in February with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men and four hundred guns, but to oppose this force the Provisional Government could bring into the field only forty-five thousand men and a hundred and thirty guns. The Russians advanced rapidly, and on the 19th of February were in sight of Warsaw. Prince Radziwil marched the Polish army out of the city, and took up a strong position before the suburb of Praga, with the right wing resting on the Vistula and the marshes, and the left on a little elder wood that bordered the road along which the enemy had to pass. The Russians faced them, with their right extending to a range of hills, from which their batteries commanded the road and the wood, and their

left resting on the Vistula and the marshes. As the enemy prepared to take up their position a brilliant attack was made by Zymirski and Szembeck, but they were ordered back by Chlopicki, who virtually commanded, under the nominal leadership of Prince Radziwil.

At daybreak on the following morning the Russians commenced the battle with a furious cannonade, under cover of which their infantry advanced in compact masses against the elder wood. The Poles stood firm, notwithstanding their inferiority in numbers, and the gloom of evening found them unbroken, though woefully diminished in numerical strength. Diebitsch abandoned the contest for a time, and on the following morning sent General Witt to demand a suspension of hostilities for three days. The armistice was refused, but the Poles were not in a position to assume the offensive, being short of ammunition as well as deficient in artillery, and three days passed in inaction. Prince Szacowskoi was marching with twenty-five thousand men to support Diebitsch, and General Jankowski was sent with two regiments of infantry and two of cavalry to intercept him. They met on the 24th, at Neporent, and, after a short skirmish, the Poles fell back upon Bialolenska, within three miles of Warsaw, where a sanguinary battle was fought, leaving the Russians in possession of the village.

On the following morning the fight was renewed at Bialolenska, where the brigade of General Krukowiecki attacked the Russians, and drove them back, with the loss of two thousand men and six guns. Diebitsch at the same time ordered a general attack, which was commenced as before with a heavy fire of

shot and shell and a rush of infantry at the elder wood. The conflict was fierce and obstinate, the carnage horrible. Five times the Russians penetrated into the wood, and five times were they driven out again with fearful slaughter. Then, when the battle had lasted five hours, Zymirski was struck by a cannon ball, and his division fell into disorder. The enemy gained ground in the centre, but Chlopicki charged at the head of the Polish Grenadiers, and drove them back. He received a wound, however, and, being attacked by a superior force, fell back in turn, followed by the Russians.

Chlopicki saw that the battle would be lost if the enemy maintained their position in the centre, and thus interposed between the divisions of Skrzynecki and Szembeck. He ordered forward the former and a brigade of the latter, therefore, and with such effect was the charge delivered that the Russians were again forced back. At that critical moment, Chlopicki was struck by a cannon ball, and, as he was borne to the rear, Szachowskoi's corps came up, and the Russian cavalry charged the advancing battalions of Skrzynecki and Szembeck. Their first onset was resisted with heroic courage, but Szembeck was cut down by a cuirassier, and before the second charge the Poles fell back in confusion. The Russian cavalry pressed on, but the Polish cavalry met them, and, after a fierce conflict, the former were driven back upon Skrzynecki's infantry, and suffered immense loss before they could extricate themselves. The Poles rallied again, and being now joined by the division of Krukowiecki, the Russians began to waver. Skrzynecki proposed a general charge, but Prince Radziwil, who had already

had the suburb of Praga fired to cover his retreat and uncover the guns on the ramparts of the city, considered the situation hopeless, and ordered a retreat.

The overflowing of the Vistula, consequent upon the melting of the snow, caused hostilities to be suspended for a month between the main bodies; but General Dwernicki, a commander of great energy and daring, kept the field with three thousand light cavalry, and defeated the Russians in several minor encounters. Among those who had the direction of the revolution, the question of superseding Prince Radziwil in the command of the army had become one of vital importance. The monarchical section supported the claim of Skrzynecki, who was also strongly recommended by Chlopicki; the republicans urged those of Dwernicki, who held their views, and had lately attracted attention by his exploits. The former was selected; he was brave, clever, and accomplished, but vain, ambitious, and profligate.

On the night of the 30th of March, Skrzynecki led the army out of the city so silently that the inhabitants were unaware of the movement, and crossed the bridge of Praga, upon which straw had been laid down, to prevent the sound of horses' hoofs and gun-wheels from reaching the ears of the enemy. Rybinski's division marched to Zornki, and by daybreak was on the flank of the Russian division commanded by Geismar, which was encamped in a forest at the foot of the hills on their right. There they halted while Colonel Ramorino, an Italian officer, led his regiment, under the cover of a thick fog, to the rear of Geismar's position. When sufficient time had been allowed for this movement, Rybinski's artillery

opened fire, and the enemy, surprised by the suddenness of the attack, fell into confusion. The Polish cavalry charged into the camp, and the Russians fled; but in the rear was Ramorino's regiment, which dashed at them with the bayonet, and killed or captured half the division. The remainder fell back in disorder upon the village of Dembewilkie, where General Rosen was posted with fifteen thousand men. That position was immediately charged by Skarzynski's brigade of cavalry, and the Russians fled along the road to Minsk, leaving two thousand of their number dead upon the field, and six thousand prisoners and twelve guns in the hands of the Poles, whose loss did not exceed three hundred.

Lubienski's brigade pursued the flying enemy, and chased them through Minsk, capturing many more. If Skrzynecki had taken full advantage of this complete victory, the results to the cause of Poland might have been immense; but he remained for some time inactive, while the enemy rallied, and the detached forces could gain only isolated victories, which diminished their strength while they added to their fame. Prondzynski attacked the Russians on the 10th of April at Iganie, and completely routed them, a whole brigade, the flower of the imperial infantry, called by Alexander the Lions of Varna, laying down their arms. On the 16th, Dwernicki encountered Rudiger's division at Brewel, and defeated it; but during the night of the 25th Rudiger crossed the Austrian frontier, and by that manœuvre, which was connived at by the Austrian Government, got into Dwernicki's rear with twenty-five thousand men. The Polish General attempted to extricate himself by

a similar manœuvre, but his force had no sooner crossed the frontier than it was surrounded by an Austrian army, and compelled to surrender.

At length, on the 12th of May, Skrzynecki quitted his camp at Kaluzyn, leaving a small force under Uminski to mask his movement, and marched to Sierock, where he arrived on the 14th. Diebitsch was encamped on the opposite side of the Bug, and the Grand Duke Michael, with the infantry of the Imperial Guard, occupied the village of Lomza; while another Russian force, under Sacken, held the little town of Ostrolenka. As this last corps was isolated from the others, the numerical inferiority of the Poles should have dictated to Skrzynecki the policy of attacking the Grand Duke Michael with all his force, and endeavouring to drive him from his position before Diebitsch could cross the river with the main body. As great a blow might thus have been struck at the enemy as Rybinski had delivered on the 31st of March; and Sacken might have been dealt with afterwards, if he had ventured to remain in his position. Instead of adopting this course, Skrzynecki divided his forces into two—one, under Lubienski, to watch Diebitsch, and prevent him from crossing the river; the other, under his own direction, to attack the Grand Duke Michael at Lomza.

Having thus divided his forces, he made the further mistake of detaching a portion of his own command to attack Sacken at Ostrolenka. The result of this error was, that Sacken retired upon Lomza, and apprised the Grand Duke of the movement, while Diebitsch left his camp in haste, and crossed the Bug in force to assist in defeating it. Lubienski's division

withstood the attack with courage and firmness until the evening, when, being almost surrounded by the enemy, they forced their way through at the point of the bayonet, and effected a junction with Skrzynecki during the darkness of the night. The latter, on hearing the roar of artillery near the river, had fallen back upon Ostrolenka, without venturing to attack the Grand Duke, and thus abandoned his enterprise without a blow.

Both armies concentrated themselves during the night, the Russians at Lomza, and the Poles at Ostrolenka; and, on the 26th, Diebitsch directed his entire force against Skrzynecki, subjecting the town to a hot bombardment as he advanced. The Poles fell back, and a furious conflict ensued in the streets of the town, amidst the blazing ruins of the houses fired by the shells. The carnage was terrible, the Poles contesting stubbornly every foot of ground, and yielding it only when overpowered by numbers. Seventeen thousand corpses, more than half of which were Russian, were heaped in the streets of Ostrolenka, when, as night fell upon the smoking ruins and the gory pavement, the Poles struggled out of the town, and began their retreat to Warsaw.

During the movements that followed this defeat, portions of the Polish army became separated from the main body, and forced into Lithuania, where their presence revived the insurrection which had taken place on the retreat of Constantine. General Jankowski had been sent by the Provisional Government to support it, but he found himself confronted by a superior force of the enemy, and retreated. The appearance of Gielgud, Chlapowski, Dembinski, and

Zalewski, with a considerable force, encouraged the Lithuanians so much that they were joined by twelve hundred young men, led by Prince Oginski, and three hundred students of the University of Wilna. Alarmed by this movement, which threatened his communications, Diebitsch detached Sacken to suppress it, and a large force was concentrated at Wilna for that purpose.

Seizing the opportunity afforded by the separation of Dembinski's division from the main body, Sacken attacked the Poles with a great force; and, though his left wing was repulsed by Zalewski, whose military qualities and patriotic zeal had gained for him rapid promotion, the centre and left of the Poles were defeated, and Gielgud ordered a retreat. Zalewski, having driven back the Russians, found himself alone on the field, and cut off from the main body; but he led his division in good order to Merecz, crossed the Niemen, and took refuge in the forests of Augustow. Gielgud continued his retreat, leaving Dembinski and Zalewski to their fate, and, being closely pursued by Sacken, was forced upon Prussian territory, and obliged to surrender. He had been for some time suspected of lukewarmness in the national cause, and this disaster so exasperated his officers that one of them, named Skalski, shot him dead on the spot.

Dembinski, finding himself unable to maintain his position in Lithuania after the retreat of Gielgud, had, in the meantime, led his division southward, and reached Warsaw on the 3rd of August, having marched five hundred and fifty miles in twenty-five days, in which time he had crossed ten rivers, and preserved his corps intact. He entered Warsaw

amidst enthusiastic acclamations, which were rendered all the more fervent by the contrast which his return afforded to the failures of Gielgud and Jankowski, and the blunders which had brought about the disastrous defeat of Ostrolenka. Both Skrzynecki and Jankowski had been received with cries of "Treachery!" and the popular excitement was so great that the Provisional Government deemed it expedient to appease it by ordering the latter's arrest. The monarchical party defeated, by a narrow majority, a resolution moved in the Diet declaring Skrzynecki unfit for the chief command of the army, but they could not prevent the appointment of a committee to inquire into the cause of his defeat. He thereupon resigned the command, and, on the popular excitement culminating in a tumult, during which the prisons were forced, and Jankowski and some Russian spies and Polish traitors hanged by the mob, his example was followed by the Provisional Government.

Their successors were chosen by the Diet from the Republican party, and they had in General Krukowiecki, the new President, a leader of great ability and energy. Dembinski, who belonged to the same party, was appointed to the command of the army, and a better selection could not have been made. On the 19th of August, three days after this change in the political situation, a council of war was held. Krukowiecki proposed to attack the Russians before the city; Dembinski, that the capital should be abandoned, and a rapid march made into Lithuania, to stir into a flame the smouldering embers of the extinguished revolt there; Uminski, that one half of the army should continue to hold Warsaw, while the remainder

marched into Polachia, along the right bank of the Vistula, to procure supplies to enable them to withstand a siege. Of these plans, that of Krukowiecki has generally been regarded as the best, and it certainly presented the advantage of leaving Dembinski's open for adoption, in the event of defeat. Uminski's proposition found the largest amount of support, however, and half the army marched out under Ramorino, now a General. Krukowiecki resolved to embody the workmen, as a substitute for the strength thus lost, and Zalewski succeeded in organising an urban guard of twenty thousand men; but the monarchical party, by spreading the alarm of another tumult, procured their disbandment.

During the pause in the strife within the limits of Constantine's rule which followed the battle of Ostrolenka, both the Viceroy and Diebitsch died of cholera, and the latter was succeeded in the command of the Russian army by Marshal Paskewitch. The new commander determined to attack Warsaw on the south, and crossing the Vistula at Thorn, marched along its left bank.

On the 6th of September a general assault was made by the Russians, a hundred and twenty thousand strong, supported by the fire of two hundred guns. After some hard fighting, the assailants penetrated into the suburb of Wola, the Poles retiring before them in good order, and contesting every foot of ground as obstinately as they had done at Ostrolenka. As this success of the enemy was obviously the thin end of the wedge, a determined effort was made to recover the lost ground; but, after a sanguinary struggle, the Poles were again driven back, and the suburb remained

during the night in the possession of the enemy. On the following morning Paskewitch summoned the defenders to make an unconditional surrender; and, on receiving a refusal, ordered the renewal of the assault, under the cover of a tremendous cannonade. The Poles resisted the attack with undiminished courage, and Krukowiecki, having recalled Ramorino, hoped to hold the Russians at bay until he should arrive. Even without Ramorino's aid, the result of the sanguinary conflict was for hours doubtful. The Polish cannon, ably directed by Soltyk, who showed himself on this occasion as admirable an artillery officer as he was a senator and a historian, and Bem, who had won his first laurels at Ostrolenka, made terrible havoc among the advancing columns of the assailants, and the infantry behaved with a gallantry which has never been surpassed. Gradually, however, the ramparts were stormed at every point, and at the close of the afternoon, when the city was burning on every side, and hundreds of houses were wrecked by the bursting of shells, while the Poles still fell back, overpowered by numbers, Krukowiecki capitulated, on the condition of the Polish troops being allowed to march out.

Five thousand of the defenders of Warsaw had been slain, however, and four thousand were prisoners. The Russian loss was officially stated at five thousand four hundred, but it is believed to have been much greater, some writers asserting it to have been nearer twenty thousand. General Malachowski marched to Modlin with the defenders of Warsaw, and, being joined by the garrison and many parties of fugitives, found himself, in a short time, at the head of twenty-

seven thousand men. He had very little ammunition, however, and there was no other prospect than to surrender or die fighting. Dissensions broke out, and he resigned the command to Rybinski, who led the remnant of the Polish army across the frontier, and laid down their arms on Prussian territory rather than surrender to the Russians. Ramorino had already taken refuge in Austria, and the downfall of the hopes of Poland were complete.

Some of the leaders of the revolution were captured, and suffered on the scaffold, or were transported to the convict settlements in Siberia. Others escaped, and became scattered over the whole of Europe. Some of these located themselves in Paris and London, and earned a living as teachers of languages or music; many, destitute of all resources, were pensioned by the French Government, and had their abode fixed at Besançon. Others took up their abode at Geneva, and formed, a few years later, the nucleus of a new secret association with the same object as the Templars.

CHAPTER XII.

YOUNG ITALY.

WHILE the vibrations of the French Revolution were being felt throughout Europe, and the Carbonari were preparing for the insurrection in the Papal dominions, the mind of one of the noblest Italians that have ever lived, and whose name will go down to posterity with that of Cola di Rienzi, was occupied with the draft of another of those mysterious associations whose principles, aims, and actions I have undertaken to record. *La Giovine Italia*—Young Italy—sprang from the impression of the hopeless barrenness of Carbonarism which the past failures of that organisation had made upon the liberty-loving and humanity-loving heart of Giuseppe Mazzini, who had then little more than attained his majority.

This remarkable man, whose name is indelibly associated with the movement for achieving the independence of Italy, was born at Genoa in 1805. His father was a physician in considerable practice, and was regarded as one of the most eminent men of his profession of whom Italy could boast. He held a professorship in the University of Genoa, and was highly esteemed by the scientific men of his age and country. He does not seem to have entertained

much active sympathy with his son's views, but he was tenderly attached to him by paternal impulse and affection. He died in 1848, leaving a widow who ardently admired her son's noble character, and shared with enthusiasm his political sentiments and aspirations.

Mazzini commenced his studies at the University of Genoa at the age of thirteen, and soon surprised every one about him, as much by the extreme generosity with which he bestowed his pocket-money, his books, and even his clothes, upon such of his fellow-students as needed them, as by the progress which he made in his studies. One of his fellow-students states that "he could never be made to observe the foolish forms and ceremonies prescribed to the students in those days, from an instinctive abhorrence of all merely arbitrary rule; neither threats nor the various modes of persecution adopted towards him by the professors could induce him to comply with these childish observances, and finally the professors themselves had to give way, and, respecting his moral character and his great talents, feign to be unconscious of his deficiencies in these respects." He was only sixteen years of age when an article from his pen appeared in the *Antologia*, a magazine published at Florence, which drew upon him the attention of the authorities, and marked him out for proscription at the first convenient opportunity. Even at that early age he began his life-long habit of wearing only black garments—"fancying myself in mourning for my country," as he used to say.

Leaving the University at the age of eighteen, he applied himself to the study of the law, with a view

to the bar; but literature and politics engrossed most of his attention even then, and all merely selfish considerations were as completely ignored as they were throughout his future life. His thoughts turning constantly upon the political condition of his country, he was induced to join the Carbonari, still directed by Buonarotti from his refuge in Geneva, but a mere shadow of what that organisation had once been.

"I was conducted one evening," says Mazzini, "to a house near San Georgio, where, after ascending to the topmost storey, I found the person by whom I was to be initiated. This person was—as I afterwards learned—a certain Raimondo Doria, half Corsican, half Spaniard, a man advanced in years, and of a forbidding countenance. He informed me, with much solemnity, that the persecutions of the Government, and the caution and prudence required in order to reach the aim, rendered numerous assemblies impossible; and that I should therefore be spared certain ordeals, ceremonies, and symbolical rites. He questioned me as to my readiness to *act*, and to obey the instructions which would be transmitted to me from time to time, and to sacrifice myself, if necessary, *for the good of the Order*. Then, after desiring me to kneel, he unsheathed a dagger, and recited the formula of oath administered to the initiated of the first or lowest rank, causing me to repeat it after him. He then communicated to me two or three signs by which to recognise the brethren, and dismissed me."*

* Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini.

He soon became dissatisfied with the connexion, deeming the aims of the Carbonari vague and indefinite, and their plans crude and ill-digested. The members had at that time to contribute five francs per month to the Carbonaro treasury, besides paying an entrance fee of twenty francs; and Mazzini saw that a barrier was thus raised against the admission of working men, and even, in many cases, of poor students like himself. He thought that the liberation of Italy must be the work of all, it having become evident that no aid was to be expected from France; and he found nothing talked of among the Carbonari but Lafayette and the Grand Lodge of Paris. He withdrew from them, therefore, and set himself the task of organising a new association which should be national in its scope, and aim at the unity of Italy as an independent democratic republic.

Before he had completed the details of his plan, however, he was arrested on the suspicion of being concerned in the movements of the Carbonari; and, though the charge was not substantiated, he was retained in custody, and, without being charged with any other offence, was kept in solitary confinement for six months in the fortress of Savona. On his liberation, he was ordered to leave Italy—in his own words, consigned to "the hell of exile—that lingering, bitter, agonising death, which none can know but the exile himself, that consumption of the soul which has but one hope to console it." He removed to Marseilles, where he resumed his design, and formed the nucleus of a Society soon to be famous among the refugees from Modena, Parma, and the Romagna, who numbered about a thousand.

These refugees had already formed an association called the Apophasimenes, described by Mazzini as "a sort of military organisation—a complex mixture of oaths and symbols, with a multiplicity of grades and ranks, and an exaggeration of discipline calculated to destroy that enthusiasm of the heart which is the source of all great enterprises, and utterly devoid of any dominant moral principle." Mazzini would have nothing to do with this association, at the head of which was Carlo Bianco, under the superior direction of Buonarotti. He argued that the Apophasimenes had either been concerned in the late insurrection, in which case they were all marked men or exiles; or they had stood aloof from it, which he contended was a sign of weakness. He resolved to proceed with his own design, trusting that he would be able to draw to him both the Apophasimenes and the Carbonari.

Having submitted a sketch of Young Italy to friends at Genoa, and received their approval, he drew up the statutes of the Society, commencing as follows:—

"Young Italy is a brotherhood of Italians who believe in a law of *Progress* and *Duty*, and are convinced that Italy is destined to become one nation—convinced also that she possesses sufficient strength within herself to become one, and that the ill-success of her former efforts is to be attributed, not to the weakness, but to the misdirection of the revolutionary elements within her—that the secret of force lies in constancy and unity of effort. They join this Association in the firm intent of consecrating both thought and action to the great aim of reconstituting Italy as

one independent sovereign nation of free men and equals."

The third section declared the aim to be revolution, and the establishment of the unity of Italy under the Republican form of Government, resting on the widest basis. The fourth described the means by which this aim was to be accomplished.

"The means by which Young Italy proposes to reach its aim are—education and instruction, to be adopted simultaneously, and made to harmonise with each other. Education must ever be directed to teach by example, word, and pen, the necessity of insurrection. Insurrection, whenever it can be realised, must be so conducted as to render it a means of national education. Education, though of necessity secret in Italy, will be public out of Italy.

"The members of Young Italy will aid in collecting and maintaining a fund for the expenses of the printing and diffusion of the works of the Association. The mission of the Italian exiles is to constitute an apostolate. The instructions and intelligence indispensable as preparatory to action will be secret both in Italy and abroad.

"The character of the insurrection must be national; the programme of the insurrection must contain the germ of the programme of future Italian nationality. Wheresoever the initiative of insurrection shall take place, the flag raised and the aims proposed will be Italian. That aim being the formation of a nation, the insurrection will act in the name of the nation, and rely upon the people, hitherto neglected, for its support. That aim being the conquest of the whole of Italy, in whatever province the insurrection may

arise, its operations with regard to other provinces will be conducted on a principle of invasion and expansion the most energetic and the broadest possible."

The organisation was simple, there being only two grades, the Initiated and the Initiators. The former were not allowed to affiliate, and only men of intelligence and prudence were admitted to the second grade. The contribution of members was fixed at fifty centimes per month. The central committee, sitting in Marseilles, or elsewhere beyond the Italian frontier, with Mazzini at the head, had the general direction of the movement; and the details were managed by local committees formed in the chief cities of Italy, assisted by a director of the Initiators. The groups of Initiated, each headed by an Initiator, were called *congregations*. The flag of the Society was the present Italian tricolour—red, white, and green, with the words *Liberty, Equality, Humanity*, on one side, and on the other *Unity, Independence*. The symbol was a branch of cypress, in memory of the martyrs of Italian liberty, with the motto, "Now and for ever." The oath taken by the members was as follows:—

"In the name of God and of Italy—in the name of all the martyrs of the holy Italian cause who have fallen beneath foreign and domestic tyranny—by the duties which bind me to the land wherein God has placed me, and to the brothers whom God has given me—by the love, innate in all men, I bear to the country that gave my mother birth, and will be the home of my children—by the hatred, innate in all men, I bear to evil, injustice, usurpation, and arbitrary rule—by the blush that rises to my brow when I stand before the citizens of other lands, to know that

I have no rights of citizenship, no country, and no national flag—by the aspiration that thrills my soul towards that liberty for which it was created, and is impotent to exert; towards the good it was created to strive after, and is impotent to achieve in the silence and isolation of slavery—by the memory of our former greatness and the sense of our present degradation—by the tears of Italian mothers for their sons dead on the scaffold, in prison, or in exile—by the sufferings of the millions—

"I, —— ——, believing in the mission entrusted by God to Italy, and the duty of every Italian to strive to attempt its fulfilment—convinced that where God has ordained that a nation shall be, he has given the requisite power to create it; that the people are the depositaries of that power, and that in its right direction, for the people, and by the people, lies the secret of victory—convinced that virtue consists in action and sacrifice, and strength in union and constancy of purpose—I give my name to Young Italy, an association of men holding the same faith, and swear—

"To dedicate myself wholly and for ever to the endeavour with them to constitute Italy *one free, independent, Republican nation*—to promote, by every means in my power, whether by written or spoken word, or by action, the education of my Italian brothers towards the aim of Young Italy; towards association, the sole means of its accomplishment; and to virtue, which alone can render the conquest lasting—to abstain from enrolling myself in any other association from this time forth—to obey all the instructions, in conformity with the spirit of Young

Italy, given me by those who represent with me the union of my Italian brothers, and to keep the secret of these instructions, even at the cost of my life—to assist my brothers of the Association both by action and counsel—

"NOW AND FOR EVER!

"This do I swear, invoking upon my head the wrath of God, the abhorrence of man, and the infamy of the perjurer, if I ever betray the whole or a part of this my oath."

Mazzini claimed for this Society that, by suppressing the condemnation to death pronounced by the Carbonari, and similar associations formed in Italy, by substituting the theory of duty for that of rights as its basis, by adopting a definite programme, and by repudiating foreign aid, it was separated from all anterior secret societies; and that by superseding "the tyranny of invisible chiefs, ignoble blind obedience, empty symbolism, multiple hierarchies, and the 'spirit of vengeance," it "closed the period of political sects, and initiated that of educational associations." He was himself the first to take the oath which he had formulated, and, having formed the nucleus of the Society among the refugees at Marseilles, sent the statutes to his friends, the brothers Ruffini at Genoa, and Guerazzi and Bini at Leghorn, with instructions for the propaganda, the spirit of which is sufficiently indicated by the following extracts:—

"You have to elevate a new banner, and you must seek its supporters among the young, who are capable of enthusiasm, energy, and sacrifice. Tell them the whole truth. Let them know all as to our aim and

intent. We can then rely upon them, if they accept it. The great error of the past has been that of entrusting the fate of the country to individuals rather than to principles. Combat this error, and preach faith, not in names, but in the people, in our rights, and in God.

"Teach your followers that they must choose their leaders among men who seek their inspiration from revolution, not from the previous order of things. Lay bare all the errors committed in 1831, and do not conceal the faults of the leaders. Repeat incessantly that the salvation of Italy lies in her people. The lever of the people is action—continuous action; action ever renewed, without allowing one's self to be overcome or disheartened by first defeats.

"Avoid compromises. They are almost always immoral, as well as dangerous.

"Do not deceive yourselves with any idea of the possibility of avoiding war, a war both bloody and inexorable with Austria. Seek rather, as soon as you feel you are strong enough, to promote it. Revolutionary war should always take the offensive. By being the first to attack, you inspire your enemies with terror, and your friends with courage and confidence.

"Hope nothing from foreign governments. They will never be really willing to aid you until you have shown that you are strong enough to conquer without them. Put no trust in diplomacy, but disconcert its intrigues by beginning the struggle, and by publicity in all things.

"Never rise in any other name than that of Italy, and of all Italy. If you gain your first battle in the

name of a principle, and with your own forces alone, it will give you the position of initiators among the peoples, and you will have them for companions in the second. And should you fall, you will at least have helped to educate your countrymen, and leave behind you a programme to direct the generations to come."

The first congregations were formed at Genoa and Leghorn, but the organisation gradually spread all over the Peninsula. The correspondence passed from the Initiated to the Initiators, and through these to the local directors, who submitted it to the Italian committees, by whom it was forwarded to Mazzini. There were no signs of recognition adopted, they having been found dangerous; but a watchword, a piece of paper cut into a certain shape, and a peculiar grip, were used to accredit messengers between the central committee and the congregations. These were changed every three months.

A manifesto, setting forth the principles of the Association, was extensively circulated towards the close of 1831, and pioneered the journal *La Giovine Italia*, which became the organ of the new movement, and had able contributors in Mazzini, Gioberti, Guerazzi, Campanella, and others. The contributions and the sale paid the expenses. Mazzini was the editor, Cecilia worked upon the paper as a compositor, Lamberti corrected the proofs, another refugee acted as porter—all giving their services gratuitously. Some sailors on the steamers running between Marseilles and Genoa, Leghorn and Civita Vecchia, and the agent of the company owning the Neapolitan steamers, conveyed the journals and pamphlets of the

Society; those intended for Genoa being sent to an unsuspected commercial firm at Leghorn; those for Leghorn, to a house of like repute at Civita Vecchia; and so on. By this means the scrutiny of the police and customs' officers was avoided at the port first touched at, the packet remaining in the charge of the person to whom it was entrusted until a correspondent of Mazzini's, who expected it, went aboard and landed it, concealed about his person.

When the existence of the Society came to be suspected—when searches were made for its publications, and the Piedmontese Government offered rewards for the discovery of the authors, and decreed the penalty of two years' imprisonment and a heavy fine for non-denunciation, the papers were sent in barrels of pumice-stone, or any other light and cheap commodity, which were filled in a warehouse hired for the purpose, and consigned to traders in the Italian ports, who were ignorant of their contents, by commission agents who were equally in the dark. Initiators, apprised of their despatch, waited upon the consignees, selected for purchase the barrels indicated by a number which had been communicated to them, and which alone contained the papers.

The congregations of Young Italy multiplied rapidly, especially in Lombardy, Tuscany, and the Papal States. Messengers were constantly passing between the central committee and the local committees in Italy, and secret and secure means of communication were found even in the Neapolitan provinces. The demand for *La Giovine Italia* was ever increasing, and all who read were initiated. Secret presses were set up at Genoa and Leghorn to repro-

duce it, and to print pamphlets and hand-bills inspired by local circumstances. In less than a year Young Italy was the dominant Society of the Peninsula.

The attention of the French Government was drawn at length to the work of Mazzini and his friends; and in August, 1832, he was ordered to quit France. Residence at Marseilles being important to the apostolate, he concealed himself, and for more than a year evaded the search of the police, living all that time in one room, incessantly occupied in writing, correcting proofs, correspondence, and midnight interviews with friends from Italy and the leading French republicans, notably Armand Carrel, Godefroi Cavaignac, and Armand Marrast. Victor Vian became the ostensible editor of the journal; and when the prefect of Marseilles threatened with expulsion those whom the police suspected of being the contributors and compositors, the contributors distributed themselves among the neighbouring villages, and the Italian compositors were succeeded by Frenchmen. The spies of the prefect became the spies of Mazzini, and kept him constantly informed of the measures to be adopted for his discovery; and when his retreat was at length discovered, an individual who resembled him was substituted for him, and proceeded to the frontier with an escort of gendarmes; while Mazzini returned to his lodging in the uniform of a National Guard.

While the chief of Young Italy was in concealment at Marseilles, one Emiliani, formerly groom of the Duke of Modena, and then acting as a spy of that sovereign, was attacked at Rhodez by some Italian refugees; and about six months afterwards he and a fellow spy named Lazzareschi were mortally wounded

in a café by an Italian refugee named Gavioli. There is no doubt that the crime was committed from political motives, or from the feeling that the safety of the refugees was endangered by the presence of the victims in that neighbourhood; but the *Moniteur* went beyond this reasonable surmise, and announced that the victims had been condemned by a secret and unlawful tribunal, of which Mazzini had been president, aud Cecilia secretary. It even published what was alleged to be a copy of the judgment, with those names attached. Mazzini protested in the *Tribune* against this statement, and challenged the authors of the calumny to produce the original document. They could not produce it, and they were silenced; but Gisquet, then prefect of police, revived the calumny in his "Mémoires," published in 1840. Mazzini prosecuted him, and obtained a judgment. But Sir James Graham did not hesitate, five years afterwards, to repeat the foul story, for which he found it necessary to apologise in the House of Commons, and to acknowledge that he had ascertained that no evidence existed that could inculpate Mazzini.

About the time of the murder of Emiliani and Lazzareschi, some amendments were made in the statutes of the Association. Every member received a *nom du guerre,* in order the better to avoid detection by the police; that of Garibaldi was Borel. The contribution was required to be according to the member's circumstances; and the committee had power given them to grant exemptions in the case of those who were too poor to contribute to the fund. Every member was required, however, to provide him-

self with a musket and fifty rounds of ammunition. A sign was adopted for use by all the members, and changed every three months, or oftener, if an earlier change was deemed necessary.

The society of the Apophasimenes merged at this time in Young Italy, and Carlo Bianco joined the central committee. The weak and isolated lodges of Italian Carbonari adopted its creed; and Buonarotti entered into friendly correspondence with Mazzini for the furtherance of their common object. The Society now numbered among its members Depretis, Pareto, and Bastogi, afterwards Ministers; Matteuci, since a senator; Cempini, son of the Minister of that name; the Marquis of Roveredo, Professor Corsini, and the advocate Azario. It had grown so strong that the time seemed to have come when the thought of all might be allowed to find expression in deeds.

After much anxious consideration of the matter, it was resolved that the movement should commence at Genoa and Alessandria, and that the refugees should then enter Savoy, in order to divide the forces of the enemy, and establish communication with the French republicans, who were then organising a revolt in Lyons. The Piedmontese army was sounded; the superior officers stood aloof, but the subalterns were found ready, the Society having members in nearly every regiment, and centres of action in some of the garrisons, especially in the artillery corps of Genoa and Alessandria. General Gifflenga promised his support in the event of the revolt showing strength; and no doubt was felt that the whole army would be guided by the same rule. In the event of success, a Provisional Government was to be formed

by the delegation of a member from each of the local committees; and when the Austrians had been expelled, a Parliament was to be convened in Rome, to frame a Constitution for the whole of Italy.

While this plot was maturing, the Piedmontese Government, having become aware of the existence of a formidable secret society, was making great efforts to discover it; but misled by reliance on the experience of 1821, was searching for it where it was not to be found. The pursuit of political amelioration begins with the upper classes, and is continued downward with the diffusion of education; hence the movement that had a dozen years before been one of the aristocracy was now popular. Marquises and Counts were much fewer in the ranks of Young Italy than in those of the Carbonari; and the police did not seek for traces of the plot where they were most likely to be found. It happened, however, that one Miglio, a sergeant of sappers, had a quarrel with a comrade about a woman; swords were drawn, and they were put under arrest. Some threatening words uttered by one of the rivals created suspicion; a search was made, and some torn pamphlets and a list of names were found.

This discovery gave the police a clue to the plot; and the number of arrests that followed created general consternation. Nobles, officers of the army, members of the learned professions, shopkeepers, artisans, soldiers, crowded the prisons of Genoa, Alessandria, Turin, and Chambery. Every artifice was resorted to by the authorities for the purpose of obtaining disclosures. A man was introduced into Miglio's cell, who pretended to be in the plot, and to

have means of secret communication. The unsuspecting sergeant gave him a letter to a relative, which was immediately handed to the police, and produced on his trial as evidence against him.* The mothers, wives, and sisters of prisoners were induced to exhort them to make disclosures, in the hope of saving their lives. Pretended confessions were paraded before them, and allegations made of arrests and executions which had not taken place, with the view of extorting revelations from their fears.

Mazzini, on hearing of these arrests, wrote immediately to Jacopo Ruffini: "Act at once, if possible; if not, you are lost." Ruffini and his associates in the plot hesitated. The Government had not discovered much; precautions had been adopted, such as excluding civilians from the barracks; if the movement failed, they might be supposed to have given the signal hastily, in the hope of saving themselves. The official gazette of Turin was alarming the public mind by false reports of mines discovered under magazines of ammunition, poison found in the rooms of the arrested officers, and a plot to burn the capital. Nothing was attempted. Executions followed the arrests on a scale that testified to the fears of Charles Albert and his Ministers. The first who suffered was Captain Tamburelli, who was executed at Chambery on the 22nd of May; the next was Lieutenant Tola, at the same place, on the 11th of June; three days later five sergeants suffered the extreme penalty at Alessandria, and another at Chambery; on the following day, a fencing-master, named Gavotta, and a sergeant of

* Louis Blanc's History of Ten Years.

grenadiers were executed at Genoa; finally, on the 22nd, Vocchieri, a lawyer, was executed at Alessandria.

These eleven executions were far from having emptied the prisons. Two more of the accused, Noli and Moja, who belonged to the trading class, were condemned to imprisonment for life; Dr. Orsini, Lieutenant Thappuz, and Lupo, a jeweller, to twenty years' imprisonment; General Guillot to ten years, and many more to periods of imprisonment ranging from two to five years. The Marquises of Spinola and Durazzo, and Count Cambiasis were liberated; Jacopo Ruffini committed suicide by opening a vein in his neck with a nail; the Marquises of Roveredo and Cattaneo, the landowner Gentilini, the advocates Scovazzi and Berghini, the surgeon Scotti, Giovanni Ruffini, Colonel Berberis, Lieutenants Ardoino and Vaccarezza, and four sergeants escaped to swell the ranks of the refugees, but, together with Mazzini, had sentence of death pronounced against them in their absence.

Notwithstanding these severities, and the dispersion of those who avoided arrest, another attempt at insurrection was made at Genoa before the end of the year, but failed; a result which was attributed by Mazzini to the youth and inexperience of the leaders. Garibaldi was implicated in this affair, and had, in consequence, to leave Italy; and Mazzini, finding his position at Marseilles no longer tenable, removed to Geneva, where he had already cultivated friendly relations with Jacques Fazy, the leader of the democratic party in that city. Celeste Menotti, brother of the Modenese Minister, Agostino, and Giambattista

Ruffini, Nicolo Fabrizi, Giuseppe Lamberti, and other refugees were resident in Geneva; and Bianco, Gentilini, Scovazzi, and others at Nyon. An insurrection in Savoy, with the view of uniting that province to Switzerland, was planned, with the complicity of many of the citizens of Chambery, Annecy, Thonon, Bonneville, Evain, and other towns, and with an ulterior view to a similar movement in the Tyrol, the whole design having for its object the interposition of a neutral territory along the whole frontier of Italy, as a barrier against France and Austria.

General Ramorino, who had acquired some distinction while serving with the Polish army of independence during the preceding year, was at this time the idol of the Italians, who fondly believed that they beheld in him the future deliverer of their country from the domination of Austria. He was warmly recommended to Mazzini by the committees, and by the wealthy patriots who furnished the funds by which the movement was to be sustained; and the chief, though he felt doubtful of Ramorino, hesitated to reject him, lest he should be suspected of jealousy. He had his character studied by two agents whom he deemed trustworthy, therefore; and, their reports being satisfactory, he invited Ramorino to join him at Geneva. A plan was concerted between them for an expedition into Savoy in two columns, one of which was to start from Lyons, and the other from Geneva. It was arranged that Ramorino should lead the former, and he received a sum of forty thousand francs for expenses, and set out for Lyons, accompanied by a young man, recommended to him

by Mazzini as a secretary, but who served the latter also as a spy upon the General.

The activity of Mazzini at this time was wonderful. He bought arms at St. Etienne and Liège, corresponded with Polish and German refugees at Berne and Zurich, enrolled new members, and urged the Carbonari of France to attempt a diversion. But Buonarotti opposed the enterprise, and, if there was no jealousy between the two associations, there was certainly no co-operation. Buonarotti did not yield to Mazzini in his love of their country, but they differed as to the means as much as to the end. "All Mazzini's companions," says M. Louis Blanc, "were not influenced by the same holy belief, and the same love of humanity as himself. Buonarotti thought that truth ought to have defenders worthy of her, and that they alone are worthy to serve the people who honour them by their virtue." But when was a revolution accomplished solely by virtuous and purely disinterested men? Buonarotti waited for such, and he waited in vain; he might as well have expected an intervention of angels.

Ramorino proceeded from Lyons to Paris, and from that city reported to Mazzini unexpected obstacles. A month, two months, three months passed away, and Mazzini became impatient. Secret agents of the police had presented themselves in Geneva, and the refugees were eager to set out for the frontier. There was, just before this time, a number of Polish refugees resident at Besançon, and subsisting upon allowances made to them by the French Government and the benevolence of the French Liberals. The support of these men to the cause of Italian independence had

been secured, and they had left Besançon for the purpose of fulfilling their engagements. The Government of Louis Philippe, established under the sanction of the Holy Alliance, had no intention of aiding the revolution, either in Poland or Italy; and the Soult-Thiers Ministry manifested a great desire for the return of the Polish refugees to Besançon, making them liberal offers to induce them to abandon an undertaking with which the Ministers of Louis Philippe were probably well acquainted.

Ramorino, importuned at the beginning of 1834 by the emissaries of Mazzini, confessed that nothing had been prepared at Lyons, and returned ten thousand francs out of the forty thousand which he had received for the purposes of the expedition. More than ever uneasy concerning the General, and anxious for the enterprise which Ramorino's procrastination was endangering, Mazzini made the final arrangements for the expedition, and summoned the military leader to Geneva. Ramorino should have reached that city on the 20th of January; he did not arrive until the evening of the 31st. The conference which he then had with his political chief was not a pleasant one. The presentiment of a coming danger cast a gloom over both; Mazzini suspected Ramorino, who feared that his treachery had been discovered.

The affiliated of Savoy were assembled at St. Julien, and Mazzini proposed that they should commence the enterprise by seizing that town, judging that he could defeat the machinations of Ramorino, if he were really as treacherous as he was suspected of being, when once the expedition was fairly launched, and a blow had been struck. Ramorino assented,

and it was arranged that the refugees should move towards the frontier in two bodies, one of which was to start from Geneva, under the direction of the General, and the other to cross the lake from Nyon, where the arms and ammunition were stored, under the leadership of a Pole named Grabski, a brave man, but without much experience in war. Mazzini was to accompany the column from Geneva, which was to direct its course to Carouge, on the frontier, and be joined by the other on the road to St. Julien.

The authorities of Geneva were not unaware of the movement that was contemplated, and they adopted measures for its frustration. When the time came for the departure of the refugees, the militia were under arms, gendarmes posted at the gates, and the ferry-boats under an embargo. The sympathies of the inhabitants and the militia were so unmistakably manifested for the refugees, however, that the magistrates found it advisable to abandon their purpose at the eleventh hour, and allow the pioneers of Italian liberty to depart. Grabski's party left Nyon at the same time with the arms and ammunition; but the attention of the authorities had been drawn to the movement by the foolishness of the German refugees, who started in large parties, wearing cockades of the German tricolour, and they were overtaken before the lake was crossed, the arms seized, and the men forced to return.

Mazzini's suspicions of Ramorino were confirmed by his conduct after leaving Geneva. Instead of marching upon St. Julien, he led his column along the southern shore of the lake, and answered evasively the questions of Mazzini as to their destina-

tion, and the reasons for the change of route. Bad weather, fatigue, anxiety, and sleepless nights threw Mazzini into a fever, and he was sent back to Geneva in a peasant's cart. The refugees began to murmur. Ramorino then told them plainly that they were engaged in a mad and useless undertaking, and that the best thing they could do was to return to Switzerland.

This affair caused the foreign refugees to be expelled from Switzerland, and most of them took refuge in France. Mazzini left Geneva as soon as he was sufficiently recovered, and, accompanied by the Ruffinis, proceeded to Lausanne, where they remained concealed for a time, and then were accorded permission to reside at Berne. The Savoy expedition caused many of Mazzini's friends to secede from Young Italy, and their defection was severely felt by him. He occupied himself, however, with the organisation of Young Europe, without losing sight of his Italian schemes, which, for a time, remained in abeyance. Having drawn upon himself the attention of the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian Governments by his connexion with the German and Polish refugees in Switzerland, the Federal Government, in August, 1836, ordered his expulsion, and, after hiding until December to evade compliance, he removed to London.

"During those fatal months," he says, "there darkened around me such a hurricane of sorrow, disillusion, and deception, as to bring before my eyes, in all its ghastly nakedness, a foreshadowing of the old age of my soul, solitary, in a desert world, wherein no comfort in the struggle was vouchsafed to me. It was not only the overthrow, for an indefinite period,

of every Italian hope, it was the falling to pieces of that moral edifice of faith and love from which alone I had derived strength for the combat—the scepticism I saw rising around me on every side—the failure of faith in those who had solemnly bound themselves with me to pursue unshaken the path we had known from the outset to be choked with sorrows—the distrust I detected in those most dear to me, as to the motives and intentions which sustained and urged me onward in the evidently unequal struggle."

In that moral desert, doubt came upon him. What if, after all, he was wrong—if he was pursuing a chimera? "The day on which my soul was furrowed by these doubts," he continues, "I felt myself not only unutterably and supremely wretched, but a criminal, conscious of guilt, yet incapable of expiation. How many mothers had I caused to weep! How many more must weep should I persist in the attempt to rouse the youth of Italy to noble action, to awaken in them the yearning for a common country! And if that country were indeed an illusion—if Italy, exhausted by two epochs of civilisation, were condemned by Providence henceforth to remain subject to younger and more vigorous nations, without a name or a mission of her own—whence had I derived the right of judging the future, and urging hundreds, thousands of men to the sacrifice of themselves, and of all that they held most dear?"

While oppressed by these terrible thoughts, he heard a friend, whose room was near his own, observe to a young girl who, having some suspicion of his unhappy condition, was urging her companion to break

in upon his solitude, "Leave him alone; he is in his element—conspiring—and happy." If a friend could so misjudge him, what must be the judgment of the world? He struggled out of the depth of doubt and despondency into which he had been plunged, however, and advanced, as he says, "from the conception of progress to a true conception of life, to faith in a mission and its logical consequence, duty, the supreme rule of life; and, having reached that faith, I swore to myself that nothing in this world should again make me doubt or forsake it."

He was at this time in extreme poverty, often pawning his clothes to procure a meal; and at length having recourse to loan offices, his better situated countrymen in London becoming his security. After a time his literary labours procured him an income more than sufficient for his wants, as well as the friendship of many men of political and literary renown. His mode of living during his prolonged sojourn in London was quiet and unostentatious, and his manners are described by those who knew him well as mild and urbane. He was benevolent to a degree which many thought Quixotic; still, as in his youth, parting with his clothes to his poorer compatriots, and often taking everything of value that he possessed to the pawnbrokers to provide the means of helping his friends, or to replace the money required for his own wants, and which previous charities had absorbed. He set on foot a school for the education of the poor Italian boys who used to perambulate the streets of the metropolis, and exerted himself in other ways, and with some success, to ameliorate their condition.

In 1844 the shocking affair of the brothers Bandiera occurred. These unfortunate young men were the sons of Baron Bandiera, who held the rank of rear-admiral in the Austrian service, and in that capacity had offended his countrymen by seizing the insurgents who fled from Ancona by sea on the collapse of the rising of 1831. Attilio Bandiera, the elder brother, opened a correspondence with Mazzini in 1842, expressing the most earnest devotion to the cause of Italian independence; and in the following year, when the national aspirations again fermented, the Bandieras began to concert a revolt, and, being betrayed by one Micciarelli, fled to Corfu. There they were joined by Domenico Moro, a lieutenant in the Austrian navy, and several others; and, being cited to appear at Venice, to answer the charge of treason in having joined Young Italy, they disobeyed the citation.

Ricciotti, who had been a Carbonaro, and had served in Spain under Riego, was on his way to Italy at this time, but was arrested at Marseilles, and not allowed to proceed. He came to London, therefore, and was supplied by the Italian refugees with funds for the purpose of a descent upon Ancona, in conjunction with the refugees in Corfu. The original intention of the latter had been to disembark on the coast of Calabria, but Fabrizi, then a refugee at Malta, advised that nothing should be done without the concurrence of Mazzini, and that their enterprise should be part of a comprehensive plan of insurrection, dependent upon a movement in the interior. On the 11th of June, however, Emilio Bandiera wrote to Mazzini that no means of reaching Ancona could be

found, and that they had received good news from Calabria, which had determined them to proceed to the south.

The good news to which he referred was a communication made to the refugees by the master of a coasting vessel that two thousand insurgents were awaiting a chief in the forests of Calabria. A Calabrian brigand, who had been hunted from the country, volunteered to be their guide; and the master of a vessel which opportunely arrived offered to convey them to the coast of Calabria for a very small sum. The fact that Mazzini's correspondence had been tampered with in the London General Post-office, and the contents communicated by the British Government to the Austrian Ambassador, renders it probable that Mazzini was not far wrong in his assertion that the "good news" relied upon by the Bandieras was concocted for the purpose of luring the refugees to the Italian coast, and the guide and the vessel furnished for the purpose of facilitating their doomed enterprise. The Bandieras, Ricciotti, Moro, and fifteen others embarked on the night of the 12th and landed at Cosenza, where one of the party, named Boccheciampi, disappeared. They pushed into the interior, wandering about for five days, seeking an insurgent band that had no existence, and then were surrounded by an overwhelming force, and all killed or taken prisoners.

The latter were examined before a military commission, together with Boccheciampi, who was accused of treason in failing to reveal the plot, but was regarded by his companions as a traitor. On the 25th of July nine of the prisoners, including the

Bandieras, Moro, and Ricciotti, were shot, crying *Viva l'Italia!* with their last breath. Numerous arrests were made in connexion with this affair, and Count Felice Orsini and many others were condemned to imprisonment for life, but pardoned a few years afterwards.

No failures disheartened Mazzini, however, and before the end of 1846 arrangements were again in progress for an insurrection throughout the Peninsula. Symptoms of agitation became perceptible in the summer of 1847, and on the 10th of August a body of Austrian troops crossed the Po and occupied Ferrara, not without a protest on the part of the Pope, which, as it was not followed by such measures as would have been adopted against a revolutionary movement, cannot be regarded as conceived in a patriotic spirit. Great excitement was produced by this measure throughout Italy, and towards the close of the year Modena and Reggio became so much agitated that the Duke of Modena invited the Austrian Government to occupy his dominions. The popular excitement was increased by these measures, and on the 1st of January, 1848, the Pope's carriage was surrounded by a crowd, and the Italian tricolour waved over his head.

Two days later crowds assembled in the streets of Genoa, and a meeting was held, at which a petition for reforms in the administration was adopted. On the same day a similar manifestation was made at Venice, where the bold language used by Tommasio, an eminent member of the literary profession, and Manin, a very popular advocate, caused their arrest. On the 6th the movement spread to Leghorn, where

it took the form of a demand for the institution of a civic guard, which was acceded to by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the command conferred on Guerazzi, who had been the chief advocate of the measure.

These symptoms of a revolutionary spirit alarmed the Italian Governments, and they bowed before the movement, the King of the Sicilies taking the lead in granting a constitution to his subjects. The example was followed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and the Pope appointed a commission to consider the extent to which representative institutions would be compatible with ecclesiastical government. This was the state of affairs when the news of the French Revolution electrified Europe, and startled the Italian potentates into quicker action. Pius IX. dismissed his ministers, promised a constitution, and called to his councils ten laymen and only three priests.

On the 16th of March, the popular agitation in Venice, which had not ceased, culminated in a tumult which assumed an aspect so serious that General Palfy judged it prudent to release Manin and Tommasio, and permit the formation of a civic guard. He then resigned, and was succeeded by Count Zichy, who surrendered the guns and ammunition in the forts, and permitted all the Italian soldiers to leave the army. He then withdrew, with the Austrian troops, to Trieste; and the Venetians instituted a Provisional Government, at the head of which was Manin. Two days afterwards Milan was in revolt, five thousand Italian soldiers joining their countrymen, and as many more coming from Pavia, Brescia, and other towns during the six days of conflict that terminated with the defeat of the Austrians, their with-

drawal to Crema, and the establishment of a Provisional Government.

These successes produced immense enthusiasm throughout Italy, and the revolt spread rapidly to all the towns of the Lombardo-Venetian vice-royalty, the Italian soldiers in the Austrian army everywhere deserting the imperial colours and joining their compatriots. The fortress of Rocco d'Anio was seized by the insurgents, the Italian regiments forming the garrison of Palma Nuova surrendered that stronghold to them, and the Austrian troops in Padua abandoned the city to aid in the defence of Verona, to which place Marshal Radetzky had retired from Crema.

The Piedmontese were so much excited by the success of the revolt in Lombardy, that it became obvious to Charles Albert that he had to choose between war with Austria and revolution at Turin. In the first days of the struggle at Milan he hesitated, gave orders to arrest the march of the volunteers hastening from Piedmont to aid the Lombards,* and refused an audience to Count Arèse, who had been sent from Milan by Mazzini, and was coldly received by the Turin Cabinet. On the 21st, when the reports from Milan were more favourable to the insurgents, he sent Count Martini to offer them aid on the condition of the incorporation of Lombardy with Piedmont. On the following day he assured Count Buol, through Count Ficquelmont, that he desired to second him in everything that could cement the relations of amity and good neighbour-

* Cattaneo's Insurrection of Milan in 1848.

hood between Piedmont and Austria; and on the 23rd, when the revolution at Milan was complete, he declared war.

This course, which would have been merely politic in a foreign Government, was unpatriotic and selfish in an Italian ruler. His policy was directed primarily to the preservation of his throne by seeming to swim with the popular current, and secondarily to the acquisition of Lombardy as a part of his dominions; not to the independence of Italy. This is proved by the Marquis of Pareto's despatch of the 23rd to Mr. Abercrombie, the British Minister in Turin,* stating that the King had declared war in order to avert a revolution; and by the statement made to the Marquis of Normanby by the Marquis of Bignole, the Piedmontese Ambassador in Paris, that the King had commenced hostilities only for the purpose of *maintaining order* in a territory left by the force of circumstances *without a master*.

Mazzini had contrived to reach Milan, and was in constant communication with the Provisional Government established there; but a number of Italian refugees from London and Paris were detained and disarmed by the authorities on their arrival at Genoa. Charles Albert and the Provisional Government of Lombardy were not looking to the same end. "Our position as a Provisional Government," said the latter, in a despatch sent to the Piedmontese Government on the 23rd, "does not allow us to anticipate the votes of the nation, which undoubtedly is entirely in favour of a greater strengthening of Italian unity." But

* Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Italy.

this spirit was not persisted in, and hence the differences which soon began to arise between the Provisional Government and the chief of Young Italy.

Mazzini would have had the revolution made by and for the people, and would have refused the aid of Charles Albert, except on the condition of the aim of the war being nothing less than the complete independence and unity of Italy. The Provisional Government preferred the aid of the Piedmontese army to that of untrained volunteers, even though the price should be the sacrifice of the grander aim of Young Italy.* When Mazzini urged that the volunteers might have experienced leaders in the refugees who had served in Spain, in Greece, and in Poland, Collegno, the Minister of War, said that nobody knew where to find them. Mazzini replied that he could produce them, and Collegno, after some hesitation, authorised him to summon them; but when they came, their services were refused, and those of Piedmontese officers accepted instead.

Campanella, an old friend of Mazzini's, shortly afterwards had an interview with Castagneto, the King's secretary, who proposed, on behalf of Charles Albert, that Mazzini should bring over the Republicans to the cause of the monarchy, and in return should be allowed as much influence as he could desire in framing a new Constitution. Mazzini declined, however, except on the condition of Charles Albert's declaration for the unity and independence of Italy; and, on being asked what guarantee he re-

* Mazzini's Royalty and Republicanism in Italy, and Allemandi's Volunteers in Lombardy and the Tyrol.

quired for the King's concurrence in that aim, he proposed that the royal signature should be given to a few lines to that effect, which, at Castagneto's request, he wrote as follows :—

"I feel that the time is ripe for the unity of our country. My soul thrills in response to yours. Up! arise! I will be your leader. I offer you, as the gage of my good faith, the spectacle hitherto unknown to the world of a King constituting himself the priest of a new epoch, the armed apostle of the popular idea, the architect of the temple of the nation. In the name of God and of Italy, I tear to shreds the ancient treaties which held you dismembered—treaties heavy with your blood. I call upon you to overthrow the barriers which still divide you, and to group yourselves in legions of free brothers, around me, your leader, ready to conquer or to die with you."

A few days afterwards, he was shown a letter in which Castagneto said—"I see plainly that nothing is to be done in that quarter." The war became, therefore, on the part of Charles Albert, not a war for the independence of Italy, but a war for the incorporation of Lombardy with Piedmont.

The popular excitement, intensified by Charles Albert's declaration of war, and the entrance of Piedmontese troops into Lombardy, obliged the Italian sovereigns to adopt so much of the programme of Young Italy as related to the national independence. The Pope at first resisted the demand for war, but bands of volunteers crossed the Po, and the excitement in Rome became so great that he at length yielded, and sent to the frontier seven thousand native infantry, four battalions of Swiss, a regiment of

cavalry, and two batteries of artillery, under the command of General Durando. From Tuscany, Parma, and Modena there was a rush of volunteers to the Mincio, the Grand Duchy furnishing four thousand, Parma one thousand and a battery of artillery, and Modena fifteen hundred.

On the 29th of March, General Pepe arrived at Naples, and was sent for by the King, who accorded him a gracious reception. The veteran Carbonaro urged Ferdinand to grant a more liberal Constitution, and on the following day the King dismissed his Ministers, and invited Pepe to form a Ministry, of which he should have the Presidency, with the Ministries of War and Marine.* Pepe would accept office, however, only on the condition that the King would consent to extend the franchise, convoke a new Assembly, give the deputies larger powers of legislation, introduce various administrative reforms, give the National Guards the charge of the forts, and send an army at once against the Austrians. Ferdinand refused, but, finding it impracticable to obtain a Ministry without Pepe, he accepted the last stipulation, and gave him the command. Every difficulty was thrown, however, in the way of the expedition, the Naval Department insisting that the fleet could not convey troops, the King interposing various delays, and the Pope refusing permission for more than one battalion or squadron to pass daily. Seventeen thousand troops at last started, but with orders not to cross the Po until the King commanded the passage!

* Pepe's Events in Italy in 1847–48.

The Neapolitan Assembly did not meet until after the departure of the troops, and the treachery of the King was immediately seen. Though the Constitution gave the Assembly power to revise it, he insisted that the deputies should swear to maintain it as it then stood, and this demand was resisted by the Liberals, supported by a formidable demonstration of the National Guards. On the second day of the debate barricades were erected in the streets, and the aspect of affairs became so threatening that Ferdinand yielded, or rather appeared to yield; for the accidental or intentional discharge of a musket provoked a conflict between the Swiss Guards and the Nationals, and, the latter being defeated, after a sanguinary contest of eight hours, he dissolved the Assembly, disbanded the National Guard, proclaimed martial law, and allowed the *lazzaroni* to pillage and burn the houses of the Liberals, without any attempt to preserve order.

Four thousand Lombard volunteers had in the meantime left Brescia, under the command of Allemandi, and passed the Alps, with the aim of cutting off the communications of the Austrian army. Charles Albert was asked to furnish two battalions and a couple of guns for this expedition, but he refused. In a few days, however, the volunteers were in possession of all the passes between Cler and Garda, and the roads between Trent and the Alps. General Welden marched against them from Trent, overcame the resistance of their undisciplined valour, and forced them back into Lombardy. The garrisons of Brescia, Monza, and Como had now surrendered to the insurgents, however, and Pavia had been

evacuated; and the Piedmontese, after repulsing the Austrians at Goito and Pastrengo, invested Mantua and Peschiera, the enemy retiring behind the Adige.

The Neapolitan army had in the meantime reached Bologna, where Pepe received a letter from Manin, begging him to hasten to Venice. Before he could advance, however, General Statella arrived, bringing orders from the Prince of Inchilterra, the Minister of War, for the troops to return, and superseding Pepe in the event of his refusal to obey. Pepe resigned the command, but so much excitement was created by the recall, both among the troops and the Bolognese, that he revoked his resignation, and sent orders for the regiments at Ferrara to remain, and those at Ancona to hasten to Bologna. His final decision gave great satisfaction to the Bolognese, who celebrated it with a torchlight procession, with banners, and bands playing patriotic airs. Statella returned to Naples, bearing letters from Pepe to the King and the Prince of Inchilterra, in which he declared his firm resolution not to send, much less to reconduct the Neapolitan troops into the kingdom, since such a movement would be fatal to the independence of Italy, and would, moreover, redound to the eternal disgrace of the Neapolitan army. He terminated the letters with the following sentence:—"In the mind of every citizen the duty which should supersede every other is that which redounds to the honour and glory of his country."

These letters were not answered; but the married officers received letters from their wives, informing them that their pensions would be forfeited, and imploring them to return. The Ferrara division

mutinied, and the Papal authorities furnished it with transport and provisions to enable it to return to Naples. A few of the officers and privates joined Pepe, who advanced to Ferrara, and crossed the Po, on the 10th of June, with two battalions of Neapolitan regulars, one of Lombard volunteers, one of Bolognese volunteers, and a battery of artillery. Proceeding to Venice, *viâ* Rovigo and Padua, he was nominated commander of the insurgent forces by the Provisional Government, and made energetic preparations for the defence of the city. The Neapolitan Government, through their consul at Venice, induced the greater part of the Neapolitan soldiers to return, however, only three hundred and twenty remaining. Manin, at the suggestion of Mazzini, urged the Provisional Government at Milan to send to Venice the Polish refugees and deserters who were held inactive there; but they were immediately sent, under Mickiewicz, to the camp of Charles Albert.

The Piedmontese army became inactive after the badly-conducted and unsuccessful attack on Rivoli, on the 5th of May, Charles Albert waiting, it was said, for reinforcements, though he knew that Nugent was marching to join Radetzky, and that the junction would give a considerable numerical superiority to the Austrians. Nugent's advance caused the Roman forces, under General Durando, to retire upon Vicenza, and Radetzky attempted to relieve Peschiera, which, however, capitulated on the 31st. Radetzky then turned his army against Vicenza, which was vigorously defended by Durando, who, however, found himself obliged to capitulate on the 10th of June, engaging to withdraw beyond the Po, and remain

inactive for three months. This was a serious blow to the Italian cause, and proportionately damaging to the reputation of Charles Albert, who, instead of attempting to relieve Vicenza, marched upon Verona. Radetzky hurried back to Verona, and Charles Albert retired. The Austrians forced the passage of the Val d'Arca on the 12th, and Padua and Treviso capitulated on the following day.

There was then a lull in the military operations for a month, during which the opposing forces were concentrated between the Mincio and the Adige. Mantua was invested by Charles Albert on the 13th of July, and on the 22nd the Piedmontese repulsed the Austrians at Rivoli, but abandoned the position during the night, and retired to Peschiera. On the following day the Piedmontese suffered a defeat at Custozza, and retreated across the Mincio. On the 25th they were beaten again at Valeggio, and continued their retreat, raising the siege of Mantua, and falling back upon the Oglio, followed by the victorious Austrians.

These reverses produced a profound agitation in Milan. Excited masses of people traversed the streets, loudly accusing Charles Albert of treachery, calling for barricades, and proclaiming war to the knife against Austria. Shots were fired at the windows of Charles Albert's quarters, and he had some difficulty in leaving the city to continue his retreat. On the 28th the powers of the Provisional Government were concentrated in the hands of Maestri, Restelli, and Fanti, who were recommended by Mazzini, though only the first was a Republican, Restelli being a partisan of the union of Lombardy and Pied-

mont under Charles Albert, and Fanti without any decided political views of any kind, but a good soldier. "The defence of the city, not the triumph of my own party, directed the choice," says Mazzini.

On the night of the 3rd of August, Restelli and Fanti went to Lodi to learn Charles Albert's intentions, but could not obtain an interview with him. General Bava assured them, however, that the army would march to their relief. On the following day, General Olivieri arrived with a decree appointing himself and the Marquises of Montezemolo and Stigelli military commissioners, and they immediately assumed the direction of affairs. Mazzini then left Milan, and joined at Bergamo the column of Garibaldi, who, after the defeat at Custozza, had marched to Monza, to operate on the flank of the Austrians. Two days afterwards the Austrians entered Milan, and on the 9th a convention was concluded by Charles Albert with the enemy, by which the former agreed to evacuate all the places in Lombardy held by his troops.

Mazzini immediately issued a manifesto, proclaiming that the war of kings had terminated, and that of the people was about to begin. The effects of the feelings which dictated this announcement were soon visible. The indignation of Milan found echoes in Florence, Leghorn, and Rome. Garibaldi and his few thousands of ill-provided volunteers were soon driven over the Swiss frontier by the Austrians; but Young Italy rose at Leghorn under the direction of Guerazzi, and traversed the streets with cries of *Viva la Republica!* A deputation of the citizens, headed by Guerazzi, went to Florence, and had an interview

with the Grand Duke, who, with the usual temporising policy of the Italian sovereigns, neither formally acceded to their demands, nor absolutely rejected them.

At Rome the popular excitement was so great that the Pope dismissed his Ministers as unequal to the occasion, and called to his councils Count Rossi, who had been the French Ambassador at Rome. The new Minister propounded a scheme of an Italian Confederation, such as had been entertained by the Carbonari, but Charles Albert would have nothing to do with it; and it is probable that Rossi only proposed it in the hope of appeasing the popular excitement. His assassination on the 15th of November, the day on which the Roman Chambers met, produced so much consternation that the Deputies separated immediately, and a vague feeling of uneasiness pervaded all classes. Alison has endeavoured to fix the odium of this crime upon Young Italy. "The secret societies," he says, "had determined that the principal Minister was to be assassinated; they had decided by lot who was to strike the blow." It is now well known, however, that the crime was instigated by the ecclesiastical party, who saw in a lay Minister an agency by which their influence would soon be destroyed.

The Ministers having left the Chamber without moving an adjournment, the leaders of Young Italy mustered the initiated, and proceeded in the evening to the Quirinal, preceded by a banner inscribed with the names of those whom they wished the Pope to accept as Ministers, and followed by an immense crowd. The gates of the palace were closed on their approach, and the Swiss Guards received them with a

volley. The unarmed crowd fell back; but presently returned, accompanied by the National Guards, armed and in uniform, who commenced firing at the windows and through the gates. The Swiss returned the fire, and an incessant rattle of musketry continued for some time, with loss of life on both sides, until the assailants brought up a cannon, with which they battered open the gates. The Swiss then ceased firing, and the names on the banner were submitted to the Pope, who refused to accept them. The multitude without became so menacing, however, that he at length signed the decree for their appointment, which was received by the people with acclamations, and celebrated with an illumination.

On the 24th he fled to Gaeta, whence he refused to return on the invitation of the Mamiani Ministry, and the Chambers appointed a triumvirate, consisting of Prince Corsini, Zucchini, a popular leader of the Bolognese, and Macerata, mayor of Ancona. The agitation for a Constituent Assembly caused the resignation of Mamiani, and measures were taken for the convocation of an assembly of the people's representatives with as little delay as possible. Pius IX. thundered from Gaeta against the Revolution, appealed for aid to foreign Powers, and ordered Count Latour, who commanded the Swiss Guards at Bologna and Forli, to repair to Gaeta. Latour temporised awhile, and then refused, fraternising with the civic authorities at Bologna, while many of the Swiss, including all the artillery, followed the example, others deserting, and returning to Switzerland.

Garibaldi contrived to reach Rome with three thousand volunteers and refugees; and Mazzini arrived at

Leghorn, where he was received with ringing of bells and waving of flags, and waited upon by a deputation of citizens, whom he advised to await the course of events at Florence and Rome. A few days afterwards, on the 10th of February, 1849, the Constituent Assembly met at Rome, proclaimed the government Republican, and nominated a triumvirate, consisting of Armellini, Saliceti, and Montecchi. Out of one hundred and forty-four members present, only eleven voted against the proclamation of the Republic as inopportune; and only five against the extinction of the temporal power of the Pope. All through the Roman provinces the announcement of the change was hailed with joy. The old municipalities, elected under the Papal régime, sent in their adhesion; those elected a month afterwards by universal suffrage did the same. There was not a single attempt at resistance, a single sign of dissent, a single protest in favour of the fallen power.

On the 18th, a bloodless revolution was accomplished at Florence, the army fraternising with the people, and the Grand Duke joining the Pope at Gaeta. Two days later, an enthusiastic assemblage at Leghorn nominated a committee of defence, composed of Guerazzi, Montanelli, and Zannetti; and Mazzini, who had been watching the progress of events, and preparing for them, proceeded to Rome.

Charles Albert had, in the meantime, been obliged by popular clamour to dismiss his Ministers, and renew the war; and the Provisional Governments at Rome and Florence decreed the raising of fifteen thousand Romans and twelve thousand Tuscans as their respective contingents to the army of Italian

Independence. Venice was still holding out, and a deputation of citizens had offered the dictatorship to Pepe, who advised, however, that increased powers should be given to Manin until a Constituent Assembly could be invoked. This course was adopted, and a triumvirate constituted by the Assembly, in the persons of Manin, Admiral Graziani, and Cavedalis, as excellent a military engineer as he was a sound patriot.

The armistice terminated on the 20th of March, and the Piedmontese army, which had been concentrated about Novara, under the command of the Polish refugee, General Chrzanowski, immediately crossed the Ticino. Six thousand Lombard troops, formerly in the Austrian army, were at Casteggio, on the right bank of the Po, under the traitor Ramorino, who, on Radetzky crossing the Ticino with fifty-five thousand Austrians, crossed the Po, and left open the road from Pavia to Turin. On the 21st, the enemy stormed Mortara, and drove the centre of Charles Albert's army back towards Turin, isolating Ramorino, and cutting off Chrzanowski from his base of operations. On the following day the Piedmontese, though they behaved with great gallantry, were completely defeated at Novara, in that disastrous battle which Alison thought, even in 1859, had "determined, probably for ages, the cause of Italian Independence." Charles Albert immediately abdicated, and made a secret visit, in a false name, to the Austrian camp, where he had a long conference with Count Thurn, after which he proceeded privately to Nice.

Immense excitement was produced in Turin by these events, and the Chambers resolved to continue

the war. But an armistice had been already concluded, and the occupation of Piedmont by Austrian troops acceded to as the condition. The Chambers rejected the armistice, and declared the Ministers guilty of treason—a resolution which had no other effect than to decide the new king, Victor Emmanuel, to dissolve them. At Genoa the popular indignation rose to a high pitch. Avezzana, who commanded the National Guards, closed the gates, had the tocsin sounded, and was allowed by the commandant, General Azarba, to occupy two of the forts. The populace, under the guidance of the leaders of Young Italy, constructed barricades; and a Provisional Government was established, with Avezzana at the head. Azarba ordered the troops to attack the defenders of the barricades, and a terrible conflict in the streets ensued, ending in the defeat of the troops, who were thereupon led out of the city by the commandant.

Brescia rose in revolt on the 31st, and the insurgents were only beaten after a fearful carnage, and the partial devastation of the city by bombardment. Venice still held out, but was reduced to the greatest extremity. On the 4th of April, General La Marmora appeared before Genoa with thirty thousand soldiers, stormed the forts and bombarded the city. An armistice was agreed to, but La Marmora insisted upon unconditional surrender; and the conflict recommenced. It was a hopeless struggle, however; and during the night of the 7th the insurgents fled into the mountains, where they were joined by many refugees from Brescia, and other towns in Lombardy. Avezzana, with about five

hundred more, made their way to Rome, and joined the legion of Garibaldi. The Austrians having reduced the Lombards to submission, entered Tuscany and the Romagna, to restore the rule of the Grand Duke. A counter-revolution was brought about at Florence on the 10th, and the resistance of Leghorn was overcome by Austrian bayonets. Bologna capitulated on the 14th of May, after an hour's bombardment, and Ancona about a month later.

Only Rome and Venice remained Republican. In the former city a change of Government was made after the battle of Novara, a new triumvirate being formed by Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi, the last having previously been Minister of the Interior. The three months, during which the chief of Young Italy ruled in Rome, can be compared only with the earlier period of the tribunate of Rienzi. For the first time since that period Justice and Humanity were installed by the side of Liberty. Life and property were not merely as safe as they had been before the revolution; they had never been so safe before. There was no proscription, no restriction of individual freedom. The few persons arrested were traitors to their country, men discovered to have secretly communicated with its invaders. Freedom of worship, freedom of the press, freedom of speech—all unknown before in Rome—were complete.

The Roman's dream of liberty was rudely dispelled by the thunder of the French cannon. On the 30th of June, when Oudinot was in possession of the heights and the bastions, a military council was held. Mazzini proposed that he and his colleagues should quit Rome with the army, fall upon the Austrian line

of operations between Bologna and Ancona, and raise the Romagna by the charm of a first victory. Avezzana, now Minister of War, and the Roman chiefs, declared for continued resistance; but Garibaldi, Pisucane, Roselli, and other military men, supported the proposition of Mazzini. None suggested capitulation. When the triumvir's plan was proposed to the Assembly it was rejected; and Cernuschi's proposal to capitulate was adopted. Mazzini and his colleagues thereupon resigned, and prepared to quit Rome.

Alison states that Mazzini left the city with Garibaldi and five thousand of the defenders of Rome, chiefly Lombards, at midnight on the 1st of July. But Mazzini's own narrative of those events shows that the triumvirs did not leave Rome until the 3rd, on which day the French entered, and that they proceeded to Civita Vecchia; while the march of the Garibaldians was directed inland. Finding the road to Naples blocked by a large force, under Marshal Nunziante, Garibaldi took the cross road leading to Terni, and on the 16th reached Orvieto. He then crossed the Apennines, and made for the Adriatic coast, with the Austrians on his track. And on the 31st—by which time fatigue and desertions had reduced his column to a thousand men—he was attacked by them near San Marino, and the greater part of his force killed or taken prisoners. Garibaldi, with about a hundred desperate companions, escaped to Cesenatico, where they seized some fishing-boats, and put to sea, with the hope of reaching Venice. Some of the boats were captured by Austrian cruisers; but Garibaldi eluded them, and reached in safety the coast of Illyria.

Venice had fallen, and when Charles Albert breathed his last at Oporto, he had seen the nation he had betrayed ground once more under the heel of a foreign despot. Mazzini, before quitting Rome, had published an eloquent protest against the French intervention, and arranged a system of secret correspondence with Giuseppe Petroni, a Bolognese patriot, whose constancy in Republican principles had remained unbroken by twenty years' incarceration in a Papal prison, and who conducted, jointly with Mazzini, the journal *La Roma del Popolo*.* Then, provided by the British Consul with a passport, he hastened to Civita Vecchia, at which port he obtained a passage to Marseilles; thence he proceeded in disguise to Geneva, and began again to draw together the broken threads of Young Italy. Armellini proceeded to Brussels, and Saffi, who parted from his companions at Civita Vecchia, sailed from that port to Malta, whence he afterwards embarked for England.

The arrests which took place on the return of the Pope, and the seizure of the presses of *La Roma del Popolo*, broke the links which connected Rome with other ramifications of the Society, which subsequently to the events just related had its greatest strength in Lombardy. No attempt at insurrection was made until 1852, when an abortive conspiracy at Mantua caused the sacrifice of three lives upon the scaffold. A more formidable conspiracy was organised at Milan; and a military officer, sent to that city by Mazzini, reported favourably of the plan. The

* Venturi's Joseph Mazzini.

arrangements seem, indeed, to have been as perfect as they well could be; but, as often happens in such cases, failure at a single point involved the collapse of the whole plan. The first movement failed, the leader fled at once from Milan, and all the bands dispersed, supposing that the outbreak had been postponed, except two, which surprised the palace. The movement was quickly suppressed, however, and fourteen artisans, who took part in it, were seized and executed.

Another abortive rising at Massa Carrara, in the autumn of 1853, was followed by the arrest of Count Felice Orsini, who had joined Young Italy in 1843, and had served the Roman Republic with courage and energy as military administrator at Ascoli. After enduring two months' solitary imprisonment, he was discharged from custody; but he was ordered to leave the dominions of Victor Emmanuel, and escorted by police to a steamer about to proceed on her voyage to England. He did not long remain inactive. Like Pepe, like Mazzini, and many more, he lived in the midst of a constant conspiracy against the rulers of his country. His life had been a series of plots and imprisonment, and it continued so to the end of his career. Having gained the confidence of Mazzini by his services under the Roman Triumvirate, he was entrusted in the following spring with an important secret mission, the precise object of which remains unknown, but which seems to have been connected with a wide-spread conspiracy, the success of which would have effected the disruption of the heterogeneous empire of the Hapsburgs. The key to this movement was in the hands of Ledru-Rollin, Mazzini,

and Kossuth; and its ramifications extended from the Pyrenees to the remotest limits of Austria.

Assuming the name of Tito Celsi, Orsini proceeded to Switzerland, and crossed the frontier without detection; but the primary object of his mission was not accomplished, and his movements drew upon him the suspicions of the police. On attempting to return to Switzerland, he found himself watched so narrowly that he withdrew from inns and highways, and struck into the mountain paths, in order to elude the vigilance of the enemy. For several days peril hung upon his footsteps, but at length he succeeded in crossing the French frontier, and got safely back to Switzerland. He probably waited there for orders from the chiefs of the conspiracy, for he did not move again until June, when he proceeded to Samaden and St. Moritz, in the Engadine, to organise an expedition, which, however, was not undertaken, the movement which should have preceded it having been abortive. Arms and ammunition were introduced for the use of the insurgents, and, these being seized by the police, Orsini was arrested on the charge of having introduced them with a treasonable design. He contrived to escape from the custody of the police, however, and, having effected some change in his personal appearance, he set out for Milan, under the assumed name of George Hernagh.

Taking Turin in his way, he arrived at Milan early in October, and proceeded from that city to Venice. That his mission had a wider scope than might be inferred from a secret journey to the capitals of the Sardinian kingdom and the Lombardo-Venetian viceroyalty is evident from his risking arrest by the

Austrian police for the purpose of proceeding from Venice to Hermanstadt, the capital of Transylvania, viâ Trieste, Vienna, and Pesth. He reached Hermanstadt undetected, but he was there arrested, and taken, handcuffed, to Vienna. The questions put to him, and the rigour with which he had been treated, showing that he was known, he acknowledged that he was Count Orsini, but protested that he had taken part in no political movement since 1848, and that the object of his visit was to enter the Austrian army, to facilitate which purpose he had taken the name of George Hernagh. This statement seemed to be corroborated by a letter from Marshal Salis, which was found in his possession; but the Viennese authorities regarded the story with suspicion, and, after repeated interrogatories, he was sent to Mantua, and confined in the castle of San Giorgio.

The treatment of political prisoners in Austria was not marked at that time by the brutality and vindictive refinement of cruelty by which it had been characterised a quarter of a century earlier; but intercourse with the outer world was still strictly prohibited, and the discipline of the prisons was either maintained with greater precision, or the gaolers were less accessible to sympathy with political prisoners at Mantua than at Spielberg. Orsini found that he could not communicate with friends through their medium; but he possessed a secret means of communication which they could not penetrate, and which has never been discovered.

"Although," he says, "the turnkeys refused again and again to assist me in sending and receiving news from without, I managed to carry on intercourse

with my friends. Persons not residing in Italy were acquainted with the minutest details concerning myself, my trial, and the trials of other prisoners. How that intercourse was managed Austria must never know; that she can never find out, despite the wonderful detective faculties of her police. They have discovered much concerning our conspiracies, as they are pleased to term them, and our methods of carrying them on; but there is no body of police existing, not even excepting those employed by Louis Napoleon, who are not sometimes outwitted. The means we use are simple enough; the art lies in the dexterity and audacity of the individual—and 'practice makes perfect.' I take credit to myself for the originality of my plans; and since I feel convinced that Austria will exhaust her rage and disappointment in vain efforts to gain a single clue to them, my readers must be content with knowing just as much as Austria has found out concerning my escape, and no more."*

That he did receive help from without in the shape of several small saws of the finest steel is certain; and without those implements he could not have effected an escape the narrative of which vies in interest with those of Trenck and Pignata. The window of his cell was a hundred and four feet above the bottom of a fosse which surrounds the castle, and which sometimes contains water, but more often only mud. Beyond the fosse is a wall twenty feet high, and, that surmounted, a fugitive endeavouring to escape in that direction would find his flight barred by a gate—closed at night, and guarded by sentinels—which

* The Austrian Dungeons in Italy.

gives access to a bridge over a stream that meanders sluggishly through the marshes which environ Mantua on every side. Escape in that direction was impracticable, therefore, but Orsini had conceived a project, the realisation of which was just possible, though attended with so much difficulty and danger that few men would have ventured to attempt it.

There was no glass in the window of his cell, the only means of excluding wind and rain being a canvas blind; but it was guarded by two gratings, formed of iron bars of great thickness. To saw through these bars, which crossed each other, was a work of considerable labour, and occupied for several days the intervals during which the prisoner was left to himself; and during that time he was in constant dread that the turnkeys would surprise him at his task, or discover that the bars, though in their places, were severed. The hard and tedious task was at length accomplished, however, and a long rope, formed by tearing into slips two sheets and a towel, securely fastened to one of the bars.

It was a dark night, and Orsini could not see, as he knelt on the ledge outside his window, whether there was any water in the fosse; but he grasped his linen rope firmly, at the same time twisting his legs round it, and began to descend. About four-fifths of the descent had been safely accomplished when the rope slipped from his legs, and, not being able to recover it, he resolved to drop the remaining distance, which, as well as he could judge from the obscurity of a moonless night, did not exceed six feet.

The depth below him was much greater than he had calculated, however, and he fell heavily on the

dry bottom of the fosse, hurting one of his legs so much that he thought at first that it was broken, and receiving several severe contusions. Raising himself with pain and difficulty, he groped his way along the fosse until he reached an arched passage leading from the fortress, under which it passes, to the city. This passage is closed by a grating, which the fugitive contrived to surmount by forcing a large nail into the cement between the stones of the wall, and raising himself by putting one foot on it, and dragging himself to the top with his hands. He then dropped to the other side, and groped his way through the passage until he found himself in front of a portion of the castle which overlooks the street leading to the gate and bridge of San Giorgio. His arms were now so stiff and swollen that he found himself unable to drag himself out of the fosse, and, after several unavailing efforts, he sat down, utterly exhausted, to wait for daylight, hoping that he might then obtain assistance from some passing stranger.

Soon after daybreak artisans and peasants began to pass, but in response to the fugitive's appeal for help, coupled with the statement that he had fallen into the fosse the night before, while intoxicated, most of them laughed, or hurried on in silence, perhaps surmising the truth, and fearing to assist him. Two peasants at length threw the end of a rope to him, and extricated him from his dangerous position. Thanking them for their friendly aid, he hurried from the spot, and concealed himself among the reeds of the marsh until night.

"Where I then went," he adds, "or who helped me, I leave to the Austrian police to discover." Per-

haps, now that Italy is free, the rest of the story may some day be told. In the meantime, it must suffice the reader to learn that he reached Switzerland in safety, and, after a short stay in that country, proceeded through France to England. "I was in doubt," he says, "whether I could pass through France without falling into the hands of Louis Napoleon's gendarmes. But I resolved to try, and had the honour of remaining several days in Paris, under the nose of Signor Pietri, the chief superintendent of the Emperor's police."

The scheme of revolt which Young Italy failed to execute in 1854 was revived in 1857, when attempts were made at Genoa and Leghorn to surprise the arsenals, and Colonel Pisucane seized a steamer at Naples, liberated the political prisoners confined on the isle of Poriza, and disembarked them on the coast, to co-operate with the initiated there in a movement intended to be general. The attempts at Genoa and Leghorn failed, however, and Pisucane's band was surrounded soon after landing, and all killed or captured and imprisoned, the gallant leader being among the slain.

Orsini's plot for the assassination of the Emperor of the French, by throwing grenades into his carriage, was formed shortly afterwards, and he went to Paris, with some other Italian refugees, to execute it. Its failure was followed by his arrest, trial, and execution for the crime, which was generally believed at the time to have been attempted in conformity with the sentence of a Carbonaro tribunal upon Napoleon as a perjured and traitorous member of the Society. That the Emperor had been in his youth a member of the

Carbonari there can be very little doubt,* but Orsini was never a Carbonaro, and therefore could not have been called upon to execute the sentence supposed to have been passed upon Napoleon III. as the vengeance of the Society for the attack on Rome.

The extent and results of the share of France in the war of 1859 seem a sufficient refutation of the belief that Napoleon's decision for war with Austria, as the ally of Victor Emmanuel, was the condition upon which he obtained from the Carbonari the reversal of the supposed sentence. The war was terminated by Napoleon as soon as the scheme of Charles Albert for the union of Lombardy and Piedmont was secured, and, in return for his aid, Napoleon demanded the cession of Savoy and Nice. Venetia was left in the grasp of Austria, and the French troops were not withdrawn from Rome. These results did not fulfil the programme either of the Carbonari or of Young Italy.

The work which Napoleon left unfinished was continued and almost completed by Mazzini. Travelling in disguise from London to Lugano, and again finding a courageous and enterprising supporter in Garibaldi, he exerted all the influence of Young Italy to make the war one for the unity and independence of the Peninsula. He wrote to Victor Emmanuel, promising him the earnest support of the Society on the condition that the war should be conducted for those ends; and the King, through Brofferio, the historian,

* "Before that time [1831] I know that the Prince, when sojourning in Central Italy, worked with his brother at the same task that I, on my side, was pursuing in Lombardy."—Count Arèse, in Blanchard Jerrold's Life of Napoleon III.

proposed a conference, an offer which was met by Mazzini with an emphatic declaration that he would be a party to no compromise, and that Victor Emmanuel and himself must work separately, each for his own aim, unless the former would pronounce unreservedly for the national unity and independence. He did not ask for even the initiative of Piedmont; he asked only that the Government should secretly support Garibaldi, and he promised in return absolute secrecy on the subject of the compact.

Victor Emmanuel hesitated; Count Cavour, whose popularity had been shaken by the results of the campaign in Lombardy, and who had been temporarily succeeded by Ratazzi, returned to office, and Mazzini's scheme was dropped. He had again ventured to enter Italy, and now urged Garibaldi to act alone, trusting that Victor Emmanuel would become accessory to the revolution after its accomplishment, though he would not while it remained to be realised. Pilo, an ardent young Sicilian, started for Palermo with funds furnished by Young Italy, and raised a revolt, but fell in the moment of victory. Garibaldi followed, and a committee was formed at Genoa under the direction of Mazzini, for the revolutionising of Central Italy. It was his wish to direct an expedition into the Papal territories, but the thousands of volunteers who came forward were all eager to follow Garibaldi; and it was not until twenty thousand men and large quantities of arms had been sent to Sicily that eight thousand volunteers were enrolled for the Roman expedition, which Garibaldi was to support by advancing from Naples. Victor Emmanuel was willing to connive at this

movement on the condition that the republican flag should not be raised, and to this Mazzini assented. On Central Italy being revolutionised Garibaldi was to advance to the Po, and the Austrian Government summoned to withdraw from Venetia. At the eleventh hour, however, the King revoked his consent, and the volunteers enrolled for the Roman expedition were sent to Naples, where the command of the revolutionary army had been assumed in his name by Medici, Bixio, and Cosenz. Young Italy was baffled, but not defeated. The Romagnese revolted, and Garibaldi, exasperated by the brutalities committed by the Papal troops at Perugia, threatened to march upon Rome. The Piedmontese Government felt constrained to act, and troops were marched into Parma and Modena. "If we are not there before Garibaldi," Cavour wrote to Talleyrand, the French Minister at Turin, "we are lost. The revolution will invade Central Italy. We are constrained to act."

Mazzini, Saffi, Cattaneo, and other chiefs of Young Italy urged Garibaldi to immediate action, and Mazzini went to Naples for the purpose of concerting measures for the extension of the revolutionary movement; but the gallant liberator of Southern Italy found himself unable to move effectually, and Mazzini, denounced by the agents of Cavour as aiming at a dictatorship, left Naples before the arrival of Victor Emmanuel, by whose side Garibaldi rode into that city. Posterity will have some difficulty in determining whether the palm of patriotism should be awarded to Mazzini or to Garibaldi.

The revolutionary movement of 1860, checked by the interposition of the Piedmontese Government,

was arrested at the Po and at the gates of Rome. Garibaldi differed with Mazzini subsequently as to whether the next movement should be directed against the Austrians or against the temporal power of the Pope. Mazzini advised action in Venetia; Garibaldi, deluded by an understanding with the Italian Government that an expedition to Rome would be connived at, commenced the unfortunate movement that terminated at Aspromonte. He could not believe that hostility was intended, even when he saw the troops sent to intercept him; but a shattered foot and imprisonment in the fortress of Varignano convinced him of the mistake which he had made in trusting to the promise of either Victor Emmanuel or his Minister.

Mazzini remained under sentence of death until 1865, when his election as the representative of Messina in the Italian Parliament induced the King to pardon him. An act dictated solely by policy could not convert into a Monarchist so earnest a Republican as Mazzini. He had done violence to his own principles for the sake of his country when he offered to co-operate with Victor Emmanuel in 1859, and the rebuff which he then sustained confirmed him in them. In 1870 he sailed for Palermo with the intention of organising a republican insurrection in Sicily, but he was arrested at sea by order of General Medici, the governor, and consigned to the fortress of Gaeta. After an incarceration of two months he was liberated, and returned to London, viâ Rome and Genoa.

Devoted to the last hour of his life to one all-absorbing idea of duty, and never swerving from the

motto of Young Italy, "Now and for ever," he soon proceeded to Lugano once more, and revived the journal *La Roma del Popolo*. His mental energy had survived his physical powers, however, and he repaired, in failing health, to Pisa, where he died on the 10th of March, 1872. His mortal remains were removed to Genoa for burial, and an immense concourse of all classes of his countrymen attended his funeral.

Italy is now united, free, and independent. She has taken the first place among the secondary powers of Europe. Though that distinction has not been achieved according to the ideal presented to her by the Carbonari or Young Italy, the influence of both associations on her progress towards unity and independence has been immense. They kept alive for half a century, by their secret meetings and their secret correspondence, the spirit of resistance to foreign domination and domestic misrule when the nation seemed to sleep upon its wrongs, and the princes and statesmen of Italy conspired with the foreign enemy against her; and there have been none of her sons to whom the Italy of to-day owes more than to Giuseppe Mazzini.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FAMILIES.

NOTHING shows more forcibly that the cause of order is less endangered by the widest extension of popular franchises, and the greatest freedom of speech and the press, than by the secret associations to which the restriction of liberty gives birth, than the results of the trials which the French Liberals made during the reign of Louis Philippe of the comparative advantages of public and secret agitation. The failures and disasters which were the sole fruits of thirteen years' working of Carbonarism induced some of the adherents of that system to form, in 1833, the Society of the Rights of Man, which aimed at establishing the democratic principles of Robespierre by peaceful, legal, and constitutional means. The Society was no sooner launched into existence, however, than no fewer than twenty-seven of its members were prosecuted by the Soult-Thiers Ministry, as belonging to an illegal association founded for the propagation of principles subversive of social order; and, though they were acquitted, the Government made the occasion a pretext for introducing a measure for the amendment of the law of association, by providing that no society should be formed for any purpose, if consisting of more than twenty

persons, even though divided into sections of less than twenty persons, whether meeting periodically or not, without the authorisation of the Government.* All persons belonging to unauthorised associations, or letting places of meeting to such, were rendered liable to fine and imprisonment. The enactment of this law was vehemently opposed in the Chambers, by the Legitimists as well as by the Liberals; but it passed on the 10th of April, 1834.

From that date until the fall of Louis Philippe the Chamber of Peers sat almost in permanent session as a tribunal for the trial of political offenders. There was shown to be less safety for men who assembled, with open doors, and in the presence of reporters and the police, to discuss political and social questions, than for those who met secretly to conspire the overthrow of the Government. Coupled with the restrictions on the press, which were rendered more severe by the measures known to history as the Laws of September, which eventually proved as fatal to Louis Philippe as the equally famous Ordinances of July to Charles X., they closed against all who did not sympathise with despotism every sphere of action but that of secret societies. The Chamber of Deputies, it must be remembered, no more represented the people of France than the House of Commons then represented the people of the United Kingdom;

* A law similar to this was made by the British Parliament in the reign of Charles II., and is still in force, though in abeyance. Captain Adams, the Chairman of the Croydon Bench of Magistrates, told me, in 1848, that it was under this Act that the Government was acting in suppressing the Chartist meetings announced to be held on the 12th of June.

for no body can be said to truly represent the people unless directly elected by at least the majority of the people.

The new law of associations was followed within three months by the formation of a secret society much resembling the Carbonari, as reorganised after the counter-revolutions of Naples and Piedmont in 1821, being military in character, and so constituted that the leaders should remain unknown until the hour struck for the conflict. The unit of this Society was an aggregation of six members only, which, in the nomenclature of the Association was called a *family;* hence the Society became known collectively as the Families. Five or six families, united under the same *chief*, formed a *section;* and two or three sections a *quarter*, the chief of which received his instructions from the unknown members of the committee of direction, through one of the latter, who did not, however, divulge his real position, and was supposed to be an agent of the committee.

The principles of the Society corresponded very closely with those of the Society of the Rights of Man, and it was probably from that association that it enlisted its first members. It does not appear to have made much progress in the earlier years of its existence, which may have been due as much to the caution rendered necessary by the vigilance of the police and the severity of the laws, as to the extent to which the revolutionary rank and file had been thinned by the bloody conflicts which took place in Paris and Lyons in 1834, and the arrests and deportations which followed. In 1836 the Society counted only twelve hundred members; but it had

ramifications in two regiments of the garrison of Paris, depôts of arms, and a manufactory of gunpowder.

The attempt made in that year by a young man named Alibaud to assassinate the King as he was proceeding in his carriage from the Tuileries to Neuilly caused the police to be even more than ordinarily vigilant. Domiciliary visits were made in the quarters inhabited by the working classes, who constituted the strength of the Families, as they had done of the Society of the Rights of Man; and discoveries were made which furnished a clue to the Association, and led to the arrest of several persons, against whom, however, nothing serious could be established. The Society was dissolved, therefore, and reconstituted under the name of the Society of the Seasons. The clue which the police had obtained led them nowhere, therefore, the Families, with everything pertaining to them, having suddenly and mysteriously passed out of existence.

The leaders of the Society did not declare themselves until 1839, but M. Louis Blanc has revealed the name of Martin Bernard, "a powerful thinker, with the courage of a Spartan," as the author of a scheme which was brought into operation about this time for the purpose of accustoming the members to assemble and disperse whenever and wherever they might be directed by their unknown chiefs, without knowing when and how the blow was to be struck. In accordance with this plan, they were called upon at irregular intervals to assemble at certain points at a time fixed immediately before; and the promptitude and punctuality with which these orders were obeyed

served as a test of the efficiency of the organisation and the alacrity of the initiated to respond to the call of their chiefs.*

In 1838 the police discovered a manufactory of cartridges on the premises of an engraver named Raban, in the Palais Royal; but no clue could be found to the Society, which continued to prepare in secrecy the elements of another revolt. The number of members diminished by the following year, however, to one thousand, and it became evident to the leaders that they could not hold their followers together much longer without an attack on the Crown and Government of the "Citizen King," who had talked in 1830 of the glories of "a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions," and had been

* This plan reminds me of what took place in London on the night of the 29th of May, 1848, when the secret committee that directed the Chartist conspiracy tested the working of the new organisation which had been introduced into the National Charter Association in the preceding month, on the motion of Ernest Jones. Open air meetings were held on the evening of that day on Stepney and Clerkenwell Greens, and, on the conclusion of the proceedings at the latter place, a man named Fussell—said to have been the unknown individual who mortally wounded the constable in the Calthorpe Street affray in 1835—called out "Fall in!" and men who appeared to be known immediately began to marshal the immense throng in marching order, six abreast. Some one inquired whether anything was to be done that night. "I don't know," replied Fussell; "we shall see." The whole body marched down to Smithfield, and was there joined by those who had marched from Stepney Green on the conclusion of the proceedings. There this immense aggregate, estimated to have numbered eighty thousand men, marched in admirable order from Smithfield to Oxford Street, and thence viâ St. James's Street, Pall Mall, and the Strand, to Finsbury Square, where the men halted and dispersed. Considerable uneasiness was produced by the suddenness of the movement, the secrecy of the means by which it had been effected, the number of men who marched, and the thoroughness of their organisation.

engaged ever since in a permanent conspiracy against the rights of the people. It was determined, therefore, in the spring of 1839, to make the attempt at once.

The directing committee consisted at this time of Armand Barbès, a man of good education and considerable property, a sincere believer in the principles of social democracy, and a zealous worker for their realisation; Martin Bernard, already mentioned; Blanqui, then in his thirty-fourth year, and already a veteran revolutionist, having been wounded in 1827 in the affair of the Rue St. Denis, and fought again at the barricades in July, 1830; Guignot, Nétré, and Meillard, men who zealously co-operated with their colleagues, while content to follow where they led. By these men a rising against the Government of Louis Philippe was projected, and the 12th of May fixed for the dangerous enterprise. "As for the means," says M. Louis Blanc, "they were matter of tradition among the conspirators: to group together, under the pretext of a review, and unknown to each other, all the divisions in the vicinity of an armourer's warehouse, and distribute on the ground the muskets and cartridges, the previous distribution of which would have betrayed the plot."

Twelve thousand cartridges had been accumulated, and two depôts were procured in the vicinity of the warehouse of a gunmaker named Lepage, in the Rue Bourg l'Abbé, which had the reputation of being better stocked than any other in Paris. Blanqui proposed to seize the prefecture of police, occupy the bridges, and construct barricades thick enough to resist the attack of artillery. This plan was

opposed by Barbès, on the grounds that a rising in the old quarter known as the City would be isolated, the construction of barricades of the strength proposed by Blanqui impracticable in the time that would elapse between the signal and the conflict, and the adoption by undisciplined men of a preconcerted system of tactics very difficult. These objections were overruled by his colleagues, however, and the plan of Blanqui was adopted.

Punctual to the hour fixed by their leaders for the rising, the Families mustered in the Rue Bourg l'Abbé, and made a sudden attack on Lepage's warehouse. The door resisting their efforts to force it, one of the insurgents effected an entrance by a window opening upon a court, and unfastened the door. His companions then poured in, and in a few minutes all the arms and cartridges which the place contained were distributed among them. They then separated into two columns, and proceeded to the depôts, one column being led by Barbès, the other by Blanqui, the former having as lieutenants Meillard and Nétré, the latter Bernard and Guignot. Some delay and confusion occurred before the men could be got into marching order; but there was no time to be lost, and the efforts of Barbès, which were powerfully aided by his soldierly bearing and air of command, succeeded in starting them in some sort of order towards the quays.

Hurrying across the bridge of Notre Dame, the column led by Barbès was soon before the Palace of Justice, where it was challenged by the sentries. The officer of the guard, Drouineau, turned out his

men in haste on seeing an armed force, and replied to the summons of Barbès to surrender with a refusal. Two shots were thereupon fired by the insurgents, and Drouineau fell, mortally wounded. The guard fired immediately, and retreated into the guard-house, which was carried with a rush by the insurgents, and the defenders disarmed. The firing had alarmed the Prefecture, however, and the insurgents were not strong enough to attack it with any chance of success. Thus the leading feature of Blanqui's plan proved impracticable at the outset. Firing being heard in the direction of the Place du Châtelet, upon which Blanqui's column had marched, Barbès led his followers at the double to its support. A conflict had taken place, and some of the insurgents had fallen, and others had fled. A hasty consultation between the leaders resulted in the decision that their united bands were too weak to oppose troops upon an open space, and the word was given to disperse through the narrow streets, and reform on the Place de Grêve.

The Hôtel de Ville was occupied without difficulty, and from the steps of that historic building, which has witnessed so many strange scenes, Barbès read a proclamation of *La République, démocratique et sociale*. Then the insurgents charged into the Place St. Jean, and carried the guard-house there, after a severe conflict, in which much blood was shed on both sides. The day was now drawing to a close, and nothing of importance had been accomplished. The leaders were surprised by the apathy with which their enterprise seemed to be regarded by the people, so different to the excitement manifested on every such occasion a

few years before. Some four or five hundred men joined them during the struggle, but there was no pouring out of the myriads of the faubourgs, as there had been in 1832 and 1835. Surprise and wonder were now the strongest feelings manifested by the majority. "I myself," says M. Louis Blanc, "on that dismal day saw, within twenty paces of the Rue de la Paix, four young men pass by, with muskets on their shoulders, hastening, with proud and angry looks, in the direction of the firing. The few pedestrians in the street made way for them, and gazed after them with astonishment and dread."

The forlorn aspect of their enterprise impressed the conspirators very strongly, but they would not, and could not very well, yet abandon it. Directing the insurgents to sing the Marseillaise Hymn, they led them through the Rue Simon le Franc, the Rue Beaubourg, and the Rue Transnonain, and threw up three barricades in the Rue Grenetat. The inspiring stanzas of Rouget elicited no response, and the final struggle was at hand. The barricades were attacked by the troops, and, after a sanguinary conflict, in which the insurgents fought with the fierce energy of despair, the defences were carried, and the insurgents slain, captured, or dispersed. Twenty prisoners were taken, and sixteen were arrested afterwards. Among the former were Barbès—with blood-stained face, and hands blackened with gunpowder, having received a wound in the head—Bernard, Meillard, and Guignot, the two latter also wounded. Blanqui was among those who escaped for the moment, but was arrested afterwards by the police.

The trial of the conspirators commenced on the 27th of June, the accused being divided into two categories, the first of which included Barbès and Bernard, the former specially charged with the assassination of Drouineau. This accusation was indignantly repelled by Barbès, both on the ground that the killing of the officer was not an assassination, but one of the chances of war, and because it was not, as he alleged, his hand that fired the fatal shot. He assumed the sole responsibility of the outbreak, and declared his fellow-prisoners innocent, on the ground that they were unaware of the purpose for which they had been assembled until they were led against the guard-house of the Palace of Justice. This was the truth; but it could not affect the legal guilt of the prisoners, who, with four exceptions, were convicted. Judgment was pronounced by the Chamber of Peers on the 12th of July, when Barbès was condemned to death, Bernard to transportation to Cayenne, and the remainder of the convicted to terms of imprisonment, varying from two to fifteen years.

The capital sentence was not executed upon Barbès however, several memorials being presented to the King, praying for its remission, on the ground that the offence of which he had been convicted was a political one. One of these memorials emanated from the students of Paris, three thousand of whom made a demonstration of sympathy with the condemned man by walking in procession with it from the Place de Vendôme to the Chancellerie. Lamartine has taken to himself all the credit of the royal clemency, however, by ignoring these memorials, and stating that Barbès was pardoned on his appeal to the King,

through M. Montalivet, at the instance of the prisoner's sister.* The sentence was commuted into imprisonment for life.

The remainder of the prisoners were not brought to trial until six months afterwards, when all but two were convicted: Blanqui being condemned to death, and twenty-six others to terms of imprisonment varying from three to fifteen years. The life of Barbès having been spared, Blanqui could not well be sent to the guillotine; and there was perhaps another reason for such clemency, which will be referred to presently.

The Society of the Seasons was reorganised after the abortive outbreak of 1839; and the places of the imprisoned chiefs were taken by Gallois, an obscure political writer, Noyer, and Dubosc. More able men succeeded these in 1842, when some further changes were made, and the direction of the Society was assumed by a committee, consisting of Caussidière, afterwards prefect of police under the Provisional Government of 1848; Leroux, a manufacturer of straw mats and matting; and two friends of Caussidière's, Léontre and Grandmesnil, both men of good repute, and the former a member of the literary profession.

It was difficult for secret societies to assemble during the latter years of the reign of Louis Philippe; and the zeal of the initiated had to be kept alive by orders of the day, issued sometimes from Paris, and sometimes from Brussels. Some of these fell into the hands of the police, and it was found necessary to

* History of the Revolution of 1848.

adopt additional precautions, and to limit the relations between the initiated and their chiefs. Another reorganisation took place in 1846, when Caussidière and Léontre retired from the direction of the Society, the latter at that time joining the staff of the *Réforme*. They were succeeded by Flocon, the chief editor of that journal, and Albert, a mechanic, afterwards one of the secretaries of the Provisional Government of 1848.

About this time a schism arose in the Society on the question agitated by Proudhon and Cabet; and the disciples of those able and zealous chiefs of Communism seceded from the Society, and formed themselves into another, with the name of the Dissidents. Their leaders were Flotte, a friend of Blanqui's; Chenu, afterwards discovered to be an agent of the secret police; Culot and Gueret. Both societies held themselves ready to commence hostilities against the Government at a word from their chiefs; and Caussidière affirms that they were "animated by the same sentiment, and were more bent on revolution than on social theories. Muskets were more often spoken of than Communism; and the only formula unanimously accepted was the declaration of rights of Robespierre."*

For more than a year before the memorable explosion of February, 1848, these two societies had been preparing for an insurrection, and for directing towards the establishment of a Republic the ebullition of popular wrath, which every one save Louis Philippe and his Ministers saw was inevitable. They had

* Secret History of the Revolution of 1848.

seen, however, in repeated failures and disasters the imprudence of initiating of themselves a movement for the establishment of a Republic; and they waited for the time when the progress of the agitation for electoral reform should bring about a crisis. Until that moment the chiefs of the secret societies kept in the background, and allowed the Parliamentary leaders of the Liberal party to enjoy all the honours of the reform agitation; while they laboured in secret, and made the Opposition deputies their unwitting tools. But when blood had been shed, and barricades raised, and the National Guards were fairly committed in the revolutionary struggle, the members of the secret societies were the most active of the insurgents; they knew then that their object would be accomplished.

On the evening of the 20th of February a meeting was held at the offices of the *Réforme*, to determine the course to be adopted on the 22nd, for which day the last of the series of reform banquets was announced. Flocon presided, and there were present Caussidière, Albert, Etienne Arago (brother of the great astronomer), Baune, Thoré (a journalist and artist of considerable repute), Lagrange, and other members of the secret societies, with Louis Blanc, Colonel Rey, and a couple of provincial journalists of Republican proclivities—namely, Delecluze, editor of the *Impartial du Nord*, and Pont, editor of the *Haro de Caen*. It was known that the Government, after allowing no fewer than seventy public banquets of the Liberals to take place in the provinces, had first declared the proposed demonstration in Paris to be illegal; and then suggested a compromise, according

to which the gathering was to be allowed to take place on the condition that it should disperse on the summons of a commissary of police, and the question of its legality be submitted to the tribunals. The Parliamentary leaders of the Liberal party had met at the house of Lamartine to consider the situation; and the result of their deliberation was awaited with some anxiety, as upon it much would depend.

About ten o'clock came Ledru-Rollin, who informed them that the majority of the Liberal deputies were disposed to accept the compromise offered by the Government, but that the banquet committee were resolved to carry out their programme at all hazards. An animated discussion ensued, some of those assembled being content to protest against the action of the Government, and others being eager for an outbreak. The latter expressed their conviction that a hundred thousand men would be arrayed against the Government as soon as the first shot was fired; while the less sanguine feared that an insurrectionary movement would be immediately crushed, and that the Government would make it a pretext for depriving the nation of the little liberty it had been allowed to retain. It was finally resolved, after much debate, that the chiefs of the secret societies should assemble on the Place de la Madeleine, the rendezvous for the procession, and, in the event of a tumult occurring, hurry to the *Réforme* office, and concert measures for organising the revolt, and giving it a Republican character.

Delahodde, who had been a member of the Families since 1835, gives some curious statistics of the strength of the Republican party at this time, according to which

it was "composed of the following persons:—There were four thousand subscribers to the *National*, of whom only one half were Republicans, the others belonging to the dynastic Opposition, led by Garnier-Pagès and Carnot. Of these two thousand there were not more than six hundred in Paris, and of these only two hundred could be relied on in an actual conflict. The *Réforme* had two thousand subscribers, of whom five hundred were in Paris, and would turn out to a man. The two societies, the Seasons and the Dissidents, promised a thousand combatants, but it was doubtful if they could muster six hundred, though the latter embraced all the Communists in Paris. To these we must add four or five hundred old conspirators, whom the first musket-shot would recall to their old standards, and fifteen hundred Polish, Italian, and Spanish refugees, who would probably do the same, from the idea that it would advance the cause of revolution in their own countries. In all, four thousand in Paris, and that was the very utmost that could be relied upon in the capital. In the provinces, there was only one real secret society, which was at Lyons; Marseilles, Toulouse, and two or three other great towns professed to have such, but no reliance could be placed on them. On the whole, there might be fifteen or sixteen thousand Republicans in the departments, and four thousand in Paris. In all, nineteen or twenty thousand out of seventeen millions of male inhabitants, a proportion so infinitely small, that it is evident they could never have overturned a strong Government."*

* Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes.

The discrepancy between this calculation and the statement made by a sanguine member of the party at the *Réforme* office requires some comment. Experience has shown that political enthusiasts are very apt to overrate the strength of their party; but, without disputing the accuracy of Delahodde's details, it will be admitted by those who have had any experience in political organisation, that the number of men enrolled in an association affords no criterion of the number of those holding the principles of that association. Scores read, think, and express their opinions in private for one who takes a more active part in a political agitation. I will give an instance. In 1848, there were in Croydon about a dozen enrolled Chartists, and in the village of Carshalton none; yet the petition for the scheme of Parliamentary Reform known as the People's Charter was signed in the former place by two thousand men, and in the latter by two hundred, and I am able to testify to the genuineness of every signature.

On the morning of the 21st, the banquet committee announced that the celebration would take place on the following day, and that the procession would be formed on the Place de la Madeleine, and proceed through the Place de la Concorde and the Champs Elysées to the place where the banquet was to be held. This announcement had no sooner appeared than Delessert, the prefect of police, issued a proclamation forbidding the demonstration; and, the subject being brought before the Chamber of Deputies by Odillon-Barrot, Duchâtel, the Minister of the Interior, declared it to be the firm determination of the Government to suppress the meeting by force, at all hazards.

The Opposition deputies thereupon issued a placard, announcing that, as the Government seemed bent on provoking a collision, they deemed it undesirable to make the intended demonstration, but would vindicate the rights of the people by every constitutional means.

During the night additional troops were brought into Paris, and immense supplies of ammunition were procured from Vincennes, and distributed among them at the barracks and the forts around the city. On the morning of the 22nd at least eighty thousand soldiers were assembled, and the command given to Marshal Bugeaud, a man of unrelenting ferocity of character. Undaunted by these preparations, thirty thousand men, chiefly of the working classes, assembled by noon at the appointed rendezvous, and marched in admirable order over the Pont de la Concorde, without being molested by police or troops. The day passed without any event more serious than some affrays between the populace who thronged the streets and the Municipal Guards, the few barricades that were erected not being defended, and seeming to be merely experimental. There was a dangerous amount of excitement developed, however, upon which the firing of a single shot would be likely to act like a spark upon a train of gunpowder.

On the 23rd the barricades were more numerous and better constructed, many gunsmiths' shops were broken open and pillaged, and several military posts were seized by small bands of armed men, without any serious resistance being offered by the defenders. The National Guards turned out at the call of the Government, but remained inactive, and in some

instances interposed between the insurgents and the troops. The announcement of Guizot's resignation produced no other effect than a general fraternisation of soldiers, National Guards, and insurgents. But the crisis had arrived; the secret societies mustered in the evening on the Boulevard St.-Martin, and marched to the office of the *National*, where Marrast, the chief editor, addressed them, with impassioned eloquence, in favour of a Republic. They then united, near the Café Tortoni, with a body of uninitiated workmen, led by Lagrange, a mechanic of restless and fiery temperament, and proceeded towards the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, before which a troop of soldiers was drawn up, confronting a throng of persons of both sexes.

An incident then occurred which proved the signal for the insurrection, but which has been so variously related by different narrators of the event, even by persons who should have been well informed, that it is impossible to regard any version of the affair with confidence. By some the soldiers are said to have fired, without warning, upon the unarmed throng; by others Lagrange is said to have provoked the volley by firing a pistol at the officer in command; while a third version represents a shot to have been fired by some unknown person, supposed to have been an agent of the secret police, in order to afford a pretext for a massacre, in the hope of inspiring the masses with terror. All that can be regarded as certain is, that a shot was fired by some one, that the soldiers were then ordered to fire, and that the volley, at such short range, covered the pavement with dead and wounded men and women. Then, while the wounded

were taken to the nearest hospitals, the corpses were placed in carts, and paraded through the streets by torchlight, causing a cry for vengeance to rise from every quarter of the city.

After a night of conflict and commotion, the pale February sun rose upon two thousand barricades and masses of armed men, thousands of whom were pledged to go through to the end with the work to which they had set themselves. The dotard King quaked, lost his head, and at one moment ordered the capital to be declared in a state of siege, at the next sent for Thiers and Odillon-Barrot, Count Molé having declined to take office at such a crisis. It was too late; the insurgents tore down the placards announcing the advent of the Liberals to office, and pressed on to seize post after post, with cries, now heard for the first time since the conflict commenced, of *Vive la République!* The announcement of Louis Philippe's abdication produced no more effect than the formation of the abortive Ministry of M. Thiers. The King and his family fled, the insurgents invaded the Chamber of Deputies, and the venerable Dupont, placed by the Liberal deputies in the President's chair, announced that Ledru-Rollin, Lamartine, Cremieux, Arago, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, and himself would constitute a Provisional Government.

The selection had previously been made at a meeting of the leading Liberal deputies at the office of the *National*, and another selection had been made at the office of the *Réforme*, substituting the names of Flocon and Louis Blanc for two of those in the other list. These gentlemen joined the others at the Hôtel de Ville, where also Marrast and Bastide presently

arrived. The clamour of the immense throng assembled on the Place de Grêve rendered a prolonged consultation undesirable, and the list was hastily settled, and read to the crowd from the steps of the historically famous edifice assigned to the Provisional Government by the Chamber. The name of Garnier-Pagès was struck out from the list read in the Chamber, and the names of Carnot, Bethmont, Sabervie, and Goudchaux added, to fill all the departments; and those of Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, and Paquerre were appended as secretaries.

Some of the names on the list were scarcely known to the masses, who received with acclamations only that of Ledru-Rollin, demanded the addition of Albert to the list, and murmured at the subordinate position assigned to Flocon and Louis Blanc. While the Provisional Government were consoling Garnier-Pagès with the mayoralty of Paris, assigning Buchez and Recurt to him as subordinates, and nominating General Courtais to the command of the National Guards, and Etienne Arago to the direction of the Post-office, the crowd remained on the Place de Grêve, threatening to become tumultuous. Flocon and Louis Blanc moved amongst the surging throng, endeavouring to preserve order; but discontent became more strongly manifested every moment, and threatening cries reached the apartment in which the members of the Provisional Government were assembled.

Lamartine, Cremieux, and Marie successively addressed the throng from a window, using sounding phrases of much vagueness; but the tumult increased, until at length shots were fired at the windows, and

a rush was made into the building. The members of the Provisional Government barricaded themselves in their council-room, and Lamartine with some difficulty led the mob into the public hall, where he again addressed them amidst much uproar, his vague and diffuse utterances being regarded as very unsatisfactory. The announcement that the Government would be Republican at length appeased the crowd, which separated with shouts of *Vive la République! Vive le Gouvernement Provisoire!*

The prefecture of police was offered to Baune, who declined it, and suggested that it should be given to Caussidière; and this nomination being supported by Flocon, the chief of the Seasons received the appointment, accepting it, as he says, with some reluctance, and with the intention of resigning it as soon as the Government should be settled. He was accompanied to the prefecture by five or six thousand armed insurgents, and prepared with zeal and energy to execute the arduous duties of his office. It being rumoured that the insurgents who accompanied him bivouacked around the prefecture, and intended to contest the authority of the Provisional Government, Lamartine had an interview with him, and returned to the Hôtel de Ville with the conviction that he was a man of the strictest integrity, and whose tact and influence would be useful to the Government.

Barbès and Blanqui, with other political prisoners, had the doors of their prison opened by the revolution. Gratitude impelled the former to wait immediately upon Lamartine, who found in him "the instincts of an exalted mind and an honest heart, combined with a disposition to promote conciliatory and moderate

views among the people." Louis Blanc speaks of him as "a man who never compromised with justice, who never bent to power, who never retreated before danger, who was never moved in the presence of death, and who is in the ordinary affairs of life a person of such gentleness of character, and so engaging in his intercourse, that it is impossible to approach him without loving him."* This is the testimony of all who knew him, and it is confirmed by every feature of his noble and expressive countenance. Shortly after his liberation he was elected colonel of the twelfth legion of the National Guards, and founded the Club of the Revolution, among the members of which were Martin Bernard, Etienne and Emmanuel Arago, Thoré, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, Bac, and Greppo, an artisan, who was subsequently a member of the National Assembly.

Blanqui founded the Central Club, Raspail the Friends of the People, Grandmesnil the Club of Rights and Duties, Cabet another. Between Blanqui and his former colleagues a feeling of distrust soon arose. Some secret documents were abstracted from the archives of the Ministry of the Interior, and one of them, relating to the Seasons, fell into the hands of M. Taschereau, who published it in the *Revue Rétrospective*. It bore no signature, but was evidently the production of an intelligent and educated man, who was fully acquainted with the organisation of the Society and with the men who composed it. The publication of the report created a great sensation among those who had been members of the Society,

* Historical Revelations.

and Blanqui was very generally suspected of having made the disclosures contained in it while under sentence of death, in order to save his head. Much of the information could have been given only by five persons—namely, Barbès, Blanqui, Bernard, Raisan, and Lamieussens. Permission was obtained to examine the manuscript, but the handwriting could not be recognised. It was afterwards ascertained, however, that the original document was copied before it passed into the hands of M. Taschereau by Lalande, formerly secretary to the Chamber of Peers.

Barbès was so fully convinced that the statement must have emanated from Blanqui that he wrote to him, demanding an explanation. Blanqui withdrew from his club for a few days, and wrote a reply, which he circulated among the initiated. It did not prove entirely satisfactory to the majority, but he returned to his club, and his special adherents again rallied to him. He was a poor man, and, unknown beyond his club, lived a solitary and obscure life. Superior to Barbès in both tact and talent, he was generally credited with less integrity, and supposed to be influenced more by policy than by principle. Hence he was suspected equally by the clubs and the Provisional Government.

Another revolutionary reputation that was ruined by discoveries made after and through the revolution was that of Delahodde. Caussidière, examining with a very natural curiosity the archives of the prefecture of police, found many reports on the secret societies signed Pierre, and, proceeding in his research, came upon a letter in the same handwriting, but signed L. Delahodde. It was dated 1838, and contained an

application for admission into the secret police, the writer giving the following account of himself:—

"Like many young men, I have been the victim of that political exaltation which so sadly signalised the first years of the Revolution of July. In 1832 I was introduced to the Society of the Rights of Man. Shortly afterwards I entered the army as a volunteer; I entered the 38th Regiment of the Line, and I acquired a certain celebrity by representing, at the theatre of Soissons, a play in which there were political allusions, an act which my superior officers punished very severely. I was afterwards brought to trial at Laon, but I must protest that the political charges brought against me were without foundation. The verdict of the jury proved that. The sort of reputation which I acquired from these two circumstances placed me in connexion with the principal leaders of the Republican party. I was looked upon as all-powerful in the regiment, and M. Marrast, of the *Tribune*, endeavoured at various times to persuade me to attempt a demonstration, which he said would shake the whole army.

"I left the army in 1835, and passed one year in Paris, studying the law. At this period I was made a member of the Society of the Families, about which I could give some information, if required. I then returned home, and it was then that it struck me that I had too long allowed myself to be the instrument of men, most of whom were ambitious, or of disappointed expectations, and the remainder men who had run wild, and wished to induce others to follow their example; and I forswore the principles of blood and destruction which I had once had the folly to adopt.

Daily contact with men of the world and my own experience have since dissipated many of my youthful illusions, and it is because of this rapid descent from belief in appearances that I shall be enabled to shake off from the employment that I solicit those prejudices which surround it."

Caussidière communicated his discovery of Delahodde's treachery to Grandmesnil, Chenu, Albert, and others who knew the man, and were affected by his denunciations; and they assembled at his house, to the number of sixteen, the traitor being also invited. He met them unsuspectingly, but their stern countenances, and the gravity of the manner in which Grandmesnil was voted to the chair, and Caussidière made his accusation, soon undeceived him as to the situation. He at first denied the charge, but, on his letter being read, he confessed that he had been a member of the secret police since 1838, and that all the reports signed Pierre had been written by him, but endeavoured to extenuate his guilt by pleading that he had never been an *agent provocateur*, and had never arrested a Republican. The assembly became excited, and it was proposed that Delahodde should expiate his offence by shooting himself; but it was ultimately resolved that he should make his confession in writing, and sign it. This was done, and a *procès-verbal* of the proceedings was drawn up, and signed by every one present. He was then allowed to retire, but was immediately afterwards arrested by order of Caussidière on the charge of having, subsequently to the revolution, corresponded with agents of Louis Philippe. He was committed to the Conciergerie

upon this charge, but liberated after the resignation of Caussidière, and then went to London.

Caussidière had reorganised the police and formed the Republican Guards, a body of three or four thousand men, into which those only were admitted who had suffered imprisonment for political offences under the monarchy, fought in the ranks of the insurrection of February, or left the army with a good character. Amongst those who joined this force was Chenu, who had been one of the leaders of the Dissidents, and had sat in judgment upon Delahodde, but who was now discovered to have also been a member of the secret police. On being detected and denounced he made an abject confession, and begged to be allowed to return to Belgium, of which country he was a native, promising that he would henceforth live honestly by his trade of shoemaking. He was allowed to go, but it was soon discovered that he had returned to Paris, and had held threatening language concerning Caussidière, who thereupon ordered his arrest. Again liberated, on denouncing some of his fellow-spies, who were still in Paris, he went to Germany; but after the election of Buonaparte to the Presidency he again returned, and afterwards obtained employment once more in the secret police.

The relations between the Provisional Government and the men holding subordinate appointments were not free from distrust on both sides. The former suspected the latter of designs against the Government; the latter suspected their chiefs of being lukewarm or adverse towards the Republic. Caussidière's appointment was not officially announced until the

13th of March, and only after repeated complaints from him to Ledru-Rollin that he could not perform the duties of his office satisfactorily while his position was undetermined. Albert, who had been nominated with Louis Blanc to preside over the committee of workmen at the Luxembourg, complained that he was coolly and superciliously treated by the Provisional Government, and talked of resigning. The constant language of the clubs was that the people ought to have guarantees in the composition of the Provisional Government for the honest reduction to practice of a truly Republican system.

This feeling was undoubtedly the mainspring of the movement of the 17th of March, when the clubs went in procession to the Hôtel de Ville, and a numerous deputation, including Barbès, Blanqui, Raspail, Cabet, Sobrier, Flotte, Lacambre, Michelot, and others, demanded the postponement of the elections and the removal of the regular troops from the capital. Ledru-Rollin replied, giving the deputation no encouragement, and was followed by Lamartine in the same sense. Blanqui, who was the spokesman of the deputation, was urged by his immediate supporters to be firm; but before he could speak a young man stepped to the front and demanded, amidst the applause of the deputation, the immediate decision of the Government. Cremieux, Marie, and Dupont spoke in succession, refusing to decide without deliberation; and then, as the deputation seemed disinclined to retire, Lamartine spoke again, exhorting the clubbists to have confidence in the Government. Several delegates replied that they had confidence in some of its members, but not in all of

them. Cabet then made a conciliatory speech, and Barbès and Raspail having expressed their approval of its sentiments, the deputation withdrew, and conveyed to the throng on the Place de Grêve the result of the interview.

Between this date and the movement of the 16th of April the air was filled with vague rumours of plots, sometimes said to be directed against the Government, sometimes against its more popular members. One day it was rumoured that Ledru-Rollin had been arrested, another that Louis Blanc had been assassinated, that Blanqui's club had resolved to seize the members of the Provisional Government in their beds, and set up the dictatorship of their chief. Caussidière attributed these sinister rumours to men whose republicanism dated from the 24th of February, and who desired to discredit the democratic party, but they were never traced to their source.

Blanqui's position was equivocal. Lamartine says that the Government suspected his designs, and suggested his arrest; Caussidière states that he wished to close Blanqui's club, considering it dangerous to public order, but was told by Flotte that Blanqui was on excellent terms with Lamartine, and often visited him. It would seem from Lamartine's statement that Blanqui was screened by Ledru-Rollin, but Caussidière was told by Flotte that Ledru-Rollin refused to see Blanqui when the latter requested an interview. Lamartine admits only one interview with Blanqui, which he dates towards the end of March; but he was in constant communication with Flotte, through whom that interview was arranged. He

admits that he offered Blanqui a post abroad, which was not declined, and that they parted perfectly satisfied with each other.

What really passed between Lamartine and Blanqui on that occasion will perhaps never be known. It is hardly satisfactory to be told by the former only that Blanqui acquiesced in his views, and that they were mutually satisfied. It is important, however, that Lamartine antedates the interview, which was shown by the evidence of General Courtais, Flotte, and other witnesses examined before the High Court of Bourges, when Blanqui was on his trial for treason, to have taken place on the evening of the 15th of April.

"At that time," said Lamartine, in his evidence, "I was not acquainted with Citizen Blanqui. The strong prejudice against him, which produced its effect a little later, was shared, to a certain extent, by me. I knew Citizen Blanqui only as a man of remarkable character and intelligence. I happened to be acquainted with Citizen Flotte, a retired naval officer, who was intimate with Blanqui, and, I believe, a member of his club. I begged him frankly to tell me without reservation what he thought of Blanqui; if so fine an intelligence were not weary of bloody revolutions, and of being condemned to be incessantly whirling in the vortex of agitation. Flotte replied that I was under a serious misapprehension, that Blanqui was animated by the best feelings, of which I could easily convince myself by an interview with him. A few days afterwards Citizen Blanqui came to see me, and with a smile on his face; I went up to him, and, giving him my hand, said, in allusion to the absurd reports spread by the newspapers, 'Well,

Citizen Blanqui, have you come to assassinate me?' I took him into my study, where we had a conversation which lasted three hours, of the most interesting kind on the part of M. Blanqui. We passed in review every matter of serious import that was then engaging attention. I feel it right to say that upon all these points—property, the family, the necessity for a strong and undivided Government, the necessity of concentrating all power in the National Assembly, and of respecting, and enforcing respect to, the National Assembly, the result of universal suffrage, the expression of the popular will—I was happy to hear from Citizen Blanqui sound ideas brilliantly expressed. The result of this conversation was to leave upon me a favourable impression, and to inspire me with just esteem for the intentions and character of Citizen Blanqui."

The movement of the 16th of April is involved in some mystery, after all that has been written concerning it by Lamartine, Louis Blanc, and Caussidière. According to the ex-Minister, whose version has generally been accepted, the object of the demonstration was to overawe the Government, and procure the substitution of certain popular leaders for Dupont, Marie, Marrast, and himself; but this view is not easily reconciled with the fact of the interview of Blanqui with him on the preceding evening, his subsequent attempt to antedate that interview by at least three weeks, and the prominent part which Blanqui took in the demonstration. Louis Blanc denies that the movement was directed against the Government, and Caussidière calls the 16th of April "a day of dupes," and hints that it was an insidious

attempt to injure the repute and influence of the democratic leaders.

It is certain that a large number of men, directed by a fugleman who wore green spectacles, shouted *A bas les Communists!* without ceasing as the procession passed; and Caussidière states that he asked one of these men why he uttered that cry, and that the man became confused, admitted that he had been employed to utter it, and then shuffled away into the crowd. On the following day, too, many persons, chiefly workmen, were arrested; and, as an example of the charges against them, it is said that Flotte was one of a group who were reading a placard, and, refusing to move on when ordered by a gendarme, was marched off to prison.

The elections placed in the National Assembly many of the leaders of the secret societies, including Barbès, Bernard, Baune, Buchez, Caussidière, Flocon, Albert, the Aragos, Greppo, and Lagrange. The Assembly met on the 4th of May, and on the 15th occurred that deplorable event, the invasion of the hall of sitting by an armed multitude, which accelerated the fall of the Republic. Caussidière, whom Lamartine acquits of any participation in the plot, received on the evening of the 14th a note from Buchez, warning him that a disturbance might be expected on the morrow from the demonstration in favour of French intervention on behalf of Poland; but he was rendered incapable of personal action at the time by an accidental injury from a horse, and, apprehending nothing serious, contented himself with directing a number of his most trusted

men to join the procession and assist in maintaining order.

On the following morning he was informed that Blanqui and his followers had paraded on the Boulevard du Temple, and were said to be armed with pistols; but, receiving no other sinister reports, he wrote to Buchez, who had been elected President of the Assembly, stating that no danger was to be apprehended, unless from Blanqui's party. The demonstration took place, and the processionists penetrated into the hall of the Assembly, where, amidst tremendous confusion, a new Provisional Government was nominated, to consist, according to Lamartine, of Louis Blanc, Barbès, Albert, Blanqui, Raspail, Proudhon, Leroux, Cabet, Sobrier, and Huber. Other accounts give the names of Ledru-Rollin and Flocon, and omit those of Proudhon, Leroux, Cabet, and Sobrier; and Caussidière states that a mob came to the Prefecture of Police, the leaders of which announced that he was nominated a member of the new Government, and requested him to go to the Hôtel de Ville. Caussidière refused, and the Prefecture was cleared by the police.

As soon as the National Guards could be mustered, the hall of the Assembly was cleared of the mob, and an order signed by Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine for the arrest of Barbès and Albert, who had been the most active leaders of the *émeute*. The Guards marched immediately to the Hôtel de Ville, and, after a brief affray with the insurgents, arrested both the incriminated men. Caussidière, as soon as he was aware of what had happened, presented himself to

the Government, and being accused of negligence in the performance of his duty, retorted with a complaint of the manner in which he had been prevented from effectually performing it by the remissness of the Government. After some deliberation he was informed that the Government would retain his services; but on the following day a decree for the disbandment of the Republican Guard appeared, and he saw that he was more than ever distrusted.

Lamartine states that Caussidière was deprived of his office for failing to maintain order on the 15th; but though resignation had been suggested to him, it seems clear that he left the presence of the Ministers with the impression that his tenure of office was continued. On the 17th, however, a large military force, including artillery, under the command of General Bedeau, invested the Prefecture, and he was summoned to surrender. He refused, and went to the Government for an explanation. They urged him to resign, but he refused, and returned to the Prefecture. Lamartine followed, and succeeded in inducing him to give up the Prefecture and authorise the announcement of his resignation.

"It had always," he says, "been my real and sincere intention to keep aloof from all the trammels of place. For seventeen years I had been one of the foremost in the breach, without any ulterior views of personal advantage. I may honestly say that I made every possible sacrifice to my cause. The realisation and adoption of my political principles were in my eyes the noblest recompense."

On the same day orders were given for the arrest

of Blanqui, Sobrier, and Huber; but Lamartine is said to have made such strenuous efforts to protect Blanqui that the warrant was recalled in his case, and it was only by the representations of his colleagues of the injustice of making a distinction in favour of one of the accused who was as guilty as the others that his opposition was overcome, and the warrant again placed in the hands of the police. Sobrier and Huber had already been arrested, and followed Barbès and Albert to the fortress of Vincennes, where they were soon joined by Blanqui.

Subsequently, when the suppression of the June insurrection had given increased confidence to the reactionists, Caussidière and Louis Blanc were accused of complicity in the plot, and though they were ably and earnestly defended by Flocon and Bac, the National Assembly, rejecting by four hundred and fifty-eight votes against two hundred and eighty-one the demand for the authorisation of their trial by a military commission, resolved that they should be prosecuted by a majority of four hundred and seventy-seven against two hundred and sixty-eight.

It was five o'clock in the morning when the Assembly rose on this occasion, and no steps were taken for the immediate arrest of the accused. Caussidière, before leaving, asked General Cavaignac whether he was to be arrested at once, and, though the reply left the matter in doubt, he gathered from it that there was no anxiety on the part of the Government to secure him. Both the accused went home, therefore, and prepared for flight; and in the

course of the next day they were both on their way to London.

Barbès, Albert, Blanqui, Sobrier, and Huber were not brought to trial before November, when they were arraigned before the High Court of Bourges, a tribunal not in existence at the time of their arrest; and, being all convicted, Barbès was sentenced to transportation for life, and the others to various terms of imprisonment. Bernard escaped the fate of his old associates until the following year, when he became implicated in the abortive movement of the 13th of June, and fled to London to avoid arrest. As for the rank and file of the secret societies, most of them perished during those terrible days of June when Buonapartist agents, provided with foreign gold, prepared the way for the Empire by swamping the Republic in the blood of the men by whom it had been established.

Blanqui, kept in involuntary inactivity, survived most of the men who had followed him to a prison or a bloody grave. The downfall of the Empire restored him, for a brief space, to personal freedom; but on the 16th of March, 1871, he was arrested—apparently as a measure of precaution—at a small town in the south of France, where he was confined to his bed by illness, and removed to Fort du Taurea, on the north coast, where he was kept in the strictest confinement until the following spring. During the civil struggle that followed the war the Communal Government proposed to M. Thiers, on two different occasions, the exchange of the Archbishop of Paris and the other hostages detained at Mazas for Blanqui alone; but

the Versailles Government refused to liberate the latter, and thus sacrificed the only hope of saving the lives of the Archbishop and his companions in misfortune. In March, 1872, Blanqui was tried at Versailles by a court-martial for alleged participation in the movement of the 22nd of January, condemned to imprisonment for life, and sent to the prison of Clairvaux, where he died in February, 1876, in the seventy-second year of his age.

CHAPTER XIV.

YOUNG GERMANY.

THE idea of a democratic Holy Alliance, which Béranger embodied in one of his deathless lyrics and Lafayette hailed in that abortive scheme of Pepe's for a corresponding society for promoting the revolutionisation of Europe, seems to have been present to the mind of Mazzini when he directed the attention of the Central Committee of Young Italy to the expediency of "forging as many links as possible between the Italian and foreign democratic elements."* The organisation of Young Italy, and afterwards the preparation of the unfortunate expedition into Savoy, engaged all his thoughts and energies for some time, however, and it was not until the spring of 1834 that the idea fructified in the institution of Young Europe.

On the 15th of April, in that year, eighteen Italian, German, and Polish refugees assembled at Berne, under the presidency of Mazzini, and drew up a Pact of Fraternity, and instructions for its realisation. Young Europe was declared to be "an association of men believing in a future of liberty, equality, and fraternity, for all mankind; and desirous of consecrating their thoughts and actions to the realisation

* Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini.

of that future. To constitute humanity in such wise as to enable it throughout a continuous progress to discover and apply the law of God by which it should be governed as speedily as possible: such is the mission of Young Europe. . . . . Humanity will only be truly constituted when all the peoples of which it is composed have acquired the free exercise of their sovereignty, and shall be associated in a Republican Confederation, governed and directed by a common Declaration of Principles and a common Pact, towards the common aim—the discovery and fulfilment of the Universal Moral Law."

"The ideal of the association of Young Europe," says Mazzini, "was the federal organisation of European democracy under one sole direction; so that any nation rising in insurrection should at once find the others ready to assist it—if not by action, then at least by a moral support sufficiently powerful to prevent hostile intervention on the part of their Governments. We therefore decided to constitute a National Committee of each nation, around which all the elements of Republican progress might rally by degrees, and arranged that all these committees should be linked with our Central Provisional Committee of the Association, through the medium of a regular correspondence.

"We diffused secret rules for the affiliation of members, decided upon the form of oath to be taken, and chose as the common symbol an ivy leaf. In short, we took all the measures necessary for the formation of a secret association. I did not deceive myself, however, by an exaggerated conception of the extent or diffusion of the association, or imagine it

possible that it should ever attain any compact force capable of being brought into action. I knew that it embraced too vast a sphere to allow of any practical results, and that much time and many severe lessons would be required in order to teach the peoples the necessity of a true European fraternity. My only aim, therefore, was to constitute an apostolate of *ideas* different from those then current, and to leave them to bear fruit how and where they might."

Young Europe, as a distinct Society, was represented by the Central Committee at Berne, which may be regarded as the head of the body of which the affiliated Societies of Young Italy, Young Germany, Young Poland, and Young Switzerland were the members. The first of these Societies was already constituted, and the Germans and Poles who had signed the Pact formed the nuclei of the kindred Associations of their respective nationalities.

The Savoy expedition had attracted the attention of foreign Governments to the proceedings of the refugees in Switzerland in such a degree that their every movement excited suspicion; and when, towards the close of 1835, one Lessing was assassinated by an unknown hand in the neighbourhood of Zurich, the official and semi-official journals of the German States at once pronounced the secret society, Young Germany, guilty of complicity in the crime, and added an accusation of collecting arms and preparing for a buccaneering invasion of Baden. To obtain evidence to support these charges, in order to found upon it a demand for the expulsion of the refugees, the Prussian, Austrian, and Russian Governments sent spies into Switzerland, one of whom, a German Jew, named

Altinger, went so far as, under the falsely assumed title of Baron Eib, to enlist German workmen for some secret and mysterious enterprise, which was never undertaken. These devices not being attended with success, recourse was had to the sharper wits of the French secret police.

Circulars were sent to the refugees in France, in the name of Mazzini, desiring them to join him at Greuchen, in the Canton of Soleure, where he was then staying, and stating the object of the rendezvous to be an expedition into Baden. Mazzini alleged that this circular was concocted at the French Embassy at Berne, at the instigation of the Ambassadors of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, who were immediately instructed by their respective Governments to remonstrate with the Federal Council on the ground of its incendiary character. Mazzini, the Ruffinis, and a Danish gentleman, named Haring, were thereupon arrested, and taken to Soleure, where, after a detention of twenty-four hours, they were liberated, but ordered to quit the Canton. This edict had no other effect than the removal of Mazzini and his friends to Langenan, in the Canton of Berne.

The subject was shortly afterwards brought before the Swiss Diet by M. Chambrier, who informed that body, with a touch of unconscious satire, that "the Association styled Young Europe has taken for its motto the words Liberty, Equality, Humanity, and professes to be founded on the rights of man—the manifesto of France to Europe when it was covered with scaffolds. Its members are bound to contribute with all their strength to the destruction of established Governments in all countries; they would level every-

thing to let in the flood of revolutionary ideas. Its act of association bears date, Berne, April the 19th, 1834. There also have successively arisen the other Societies, called Young Italy, Young Poland, Young Germany, Young France, and Young Switzerland. A directing committee, sitting at Paris, holds in its hands the threads of the different Associations which compose Young Europe. Separate committees are at the head of the different sections, but they all obey implicitly the orders of the unknown committee, which, shrouded in darkness, sits at Paris. Young Switzerland, established on the 26th of July, 1835, is entrusted with the task of organising the whole of Switzerland, overturning the Government in all the Cantons, annihilating the compact of 1815, preparing an appeal to arms, and organising, in conjunction with Young Germany, the free corps which are to revolutionise both countries. A province of Germany is to be immediately invaded, and all Europe stirred to support the movement."

M. Chambrier was in error as to the dates when the two Societies, Young Europe and Young Switzerland, had their origin, and also in the statement that the directing committee of the former was located in Paris. It had its seat in Berne until it was transferred to London, after the expulsion of the refugees from Switzerland. That event could not be long deferred. Switzerland, a small and poor country, could be subjected by her neighbours to an amount of coercion which would not have been ventured upon in the case of England, or even Turkey. The Duke of Montebello menaced the Government with suspension of diplomatic relations, and holding Switzerland

responsible for the results of any plots that might be formed on her soil against France; and the demand for the expulsion of the refugees was at length complied with.

This measure had very little effect upon the organisation of Young Germany, most of the members of that Society being workmen who moved frequently from one town to another, and thus failed to attract observation. The Swiss Government concerned itself only with the refugees named by the Ambassadors of the remonstrating Powers, and the nucleus of the Society remained unbroken. The number of members increased considerably during 1836, chiefly through the exertions of a body of propagandists, one or two of whom were attached to each branch of the Society, and who formed a secret committee unknown to the members generally, to influence the operations and, as I find it expressed in a private letter, "to keep up the steam."

I have not succeeded in procuring a copy of the oath taken by the members of this Society; but its substance may be gathered from the rules, which set forth that the Society was essentially and necessarily a secret one, its end being political propagandism. Every member obliged himself to remain in the Association until he attained the age of forty, to devote all his powers to the attainment of its aims, and to make whatever sacrifices might be necessary to that end. Every member engaged himself to destroy all written documents by which the Association, or any member of it, might be traced. The Central Committee remained at Berne, conducting the movement and corresponding with members in Germany, to which

country some of them were frequently returning, and in that way diffusing the principles of the Association within the borders of the Fatherland.

In 1837 the Society suffered from a schism similar to that which, at a later period, occurred in the Families. Many of the members imbibed the Communistic principles then being disseminated among the German workmen by Wilhelm Weitling, and seceded from the Society to join the secret society of Communists, then beginning to spread its network of clubs over Switzerland. Several discussions were held in Geneva and other large towns on the subject of those principles, and resulted in a modification of Young Germany's declaration of principles, and a growing tendency on the part of the members to occupy themselves with those social questions which they began to perceive must demand the attention of statesmen whenever the masses succeeded in acquiring political power.

The diminution of numerical strength arising from the Communist secession, and the greater attraction which Weitling's programme had for many minds, kept Young Germany in a stationary position for a time; but between the years 1840 and 1845 it was gradually extended among the German workmen in Switzerland, the number of whom at the latter period was estimated at twenty-five thousand. Then commenced a period of increased activity, under the auspices of a new committee, the members of which were a literary gentleman named Marr, a couple of teachers of the German language named Standau and Doclecke, and a druggist named Hoffman—all resident at Lausanne, where the Society had then its head-

quarters. Dr. Tein, an ex-member of the central committee, had been arrested and imprisoned at Lucerne, on the charge of participation in the civil war of the preceding year; and another, Dr. Rauschenplatt, had found it convenient to remove to Strasburg to avoid the like fate on the same account.

Branches of the Society existed at this time in twenty-six towns of the Swiss cantons—namely, Geneva, Carouge, Nyon, Rolle, Aubonne, Aigle, Morges, Lausanne, Vevay, Yverdun, Moudon, Payerne, Friburg, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fleunès, Berne, Bielle, St. Imier, Porentruy, Burgdorf, Basle, Lucerne, Zurich, Winterthur, Zug, and Chur. Delegates from all the branches assembled half-yearly in one of the larger towns, which then became the seat of the Central Committee for the following six months. Each branch elected a committee, which directed its proceedings, prepared topics for discussion by the members, and corresponded with the committees in other towns as well as with the central committee. The strongest branches were those of Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, Zurich, and La Chaux-de-Fonds—the last, though only a small town, having a society of two hundred members. These had libraries and newsrooms, and also music-rooms, provided with a pianoforte.

Dr. Rauschenplatt succeeded in founding a branch of the Society at Strasburg, and there was another in existence at Marseilles. In Germany branches had been formed at Stuttgardt, Carlsruhe, Darmstadt, and probably some other towns. Germany's greatest living poet, Ferdinand Freiligrath, was an active member, and celebrated his admission into the Society

in a charming little poem, in which the incident is hinted at with a delicacy that would convey the fact only to the initiated. In Germany, however, the Society made its way very slowly at first, owing to the stringent measures of the various Governments, which influenced even the more cautious Germans in Switzerland.

"We are obliged," says a letter from the Zurich committee to the central committee, "to use great caution, on account of most of the newly-arriving men being frightened by the ordinances and intimidations of the German Governments. They will never enter a club unless they are told that it is not a political one. Thus we are obliged to treat them very cautiously, to bring them step by step into the right road, and the principal thing in this respect is to show them that religion is nothing but a pile of rubbish. The only thing we can do here is to prepare them for the clubs in French Switzerland; and there we send those who intend leaving Zurich."

Many were the devices used to procure the adhesion of the German workmen in any town where a branch had been established. Thus, at Morges there were many whitesmiths of that nationality, and not a single member of that trade belonged to the local branch of Young Germany. The usual plan of using one man to bring over his fellow-craftsmen could not, therefore, be resorted to; but the committee, finding from its correspondence, that a German whitesmith had been initiated at Lausanne, induced the man to take up his abode at Morges, where he succeeded in procuring the adhesion of most of his compatriots of his own trade.

Wilhelm Marr edited the journal of the Society, named after it, and having a circulation of over five hundred, chiefly among the Germans in Switzerland. He was plain-speaking and earnest, as journalists always are when they are working for the dissemination of their own political creed, with a great end in view, and are little influenced by considerations of profit, or the views of a proprietary. "Germany," he said in the first number of the journal, "needs a thorough revolution—political, religious, and social; and, if politics and religion should, in its course, end in smoke, so much the better: socialised man will come out of the purgation purer and better." In the autumn of 1845 he made a propagandist tour through Germany, but was arrested at Leipzig, and ordered to quit the country.

That Marr was well acquainted with the undercurrent of thought among the workmen of Germany was shown by the views which came to the surface a few years later. There had long been growing in the minds of Germans of all classes a feeling in favour of the union of the whole nation under one head; and the masses, uniting their aspirations to political power with their longings for national unity, desired to see this idea realised in a common Diet, in which the entire German people should be represented. The religious world of Germany was agitated by the preaching of Ronge and Czerski, who, beginning with denouncing the corruptions of the Romish Church, were advancing rapidly in the development of a Religion of Humanity. The social theories of Cabet, and Proudhon, and Weitling were at the same time making progress among the masses, and threat-

ening changes even greater than the unification of the people.

"While the middle classes of Germany kill their time with German Catholicity and Protestant Reform," said a German, writing to a friend in London in 1845, "while they run after Ronge, and play the 'Friends of Light,' thus making it their chief business to effect some little, almost invisible, good-for-nothing (but a *bourgeois*) reform in religious matters, the working people of our country read and digest the writings of the greatest German philosophers, such as Feuerbach, &c., and embrace the result of their inquiries, as radical as this result may be."

Though the press was shackled by the censorship, and public meetings could be held only by permission of the authorities, the idea of German unity continued to grow, and found expression through various channels. When laws prevent the free communication of ideas from mind to mind, the slightest hint or allusion acquires a significance which it would not possess under other conditions. A few lines of half-veiled allusion to national unity in the journal conducted at Leipzig by Robert Blum, and some bolder expressions of the feeling in the songs of Freiligrath, and Herwegh, and Hoffman, with letters from refugee or emigrant Germans in England and Switzerland, were the aliment by which the movement was sustained. These had a wider field in which to operate than the organ of Young Germany, which had a very limited circulation, and represented only the Republicans.

The French Revolution of 1848 produced a sudden excitement among the German refugees and emigrants, who, from London and Paris, and Strasburg and

Marseilles, and all the towns of Switzerland, made their way into Germany during the first month after the throne of Louis Philippe had fallen. On the 26th of March a great popular demonstration took place at Heidelberg, where no fewer than thirty thousand men assembled amidst the elevated ruins of the ancient castle, overlooking the valley of the Neckar, and a series of eloquent addresses were delivered on the present and the future of the country. There Young Germany first found an articulate voice, and Hecker indicated the French Revolution as the example to be followed. His utterances evoked less enthusiasm than those of the Constitutional leaders, however, and the conclusions arrived at by the meeting were so far opposed to the realisation of the views of Young Germany, that the Central Committee called the initiated to arms, and the flag of the Society was raised by Hecker and Struve in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

On the 20th of April the insurgents were attacked and defeated near Raudern by General Gagern, who was mortally wounded in the encounter by a musket-ball. Struve was taken prisoner, and confined in the fortress of Rastadt; but Hecker escaped into Switzerland. The failure of the movement convinced the leaders of Young Germany that the masses were not yet prepared to fight for a Republic, and that they could, for the present, only watch the course of events. "The eyes of all Germans," says a private letter written towards the end of the summer, "are fixed upon the deputies who are engaged at Frankfort in the elaboration of a Constitution for united Germany, not yet united, nor likely to be. Nothing can be

done until the nation's eyes are opened by the collapse of that enormous bubble, which the self-deluded believers in the alliance of kings and peoples has set floating in the summer sky, and which they gaze at with complacency, while princes and statesmen laugh in their sleeves at the gullibility of the people and their leaders. Can any man with brains in his head suppose that the conclusion will be other than a miserable fiasco? I suppose there are such dotards, but I believe that most of the men assembled at Frankfort are beginning to doubt whether the Constitution they are framing will ever come into operation. When the bubble bursts, there will be an outburst of rage on the part of the deluded and disappointed people, and the inevitable exposure of royal treachery and duplicity may open their eyes to the necessity of self-dependence, which must lead to a democratic Republic."

With a view to the operations to be undertaken when the way had been cleared by the anticipated bursting of the Frankfort bubble, a Congress of representatives of German democracy, including the leaders of Young Germany, was convened at Berlin in the autumn, when a series of resolutions was adopted, constituting a declaration of principles far in advance of the original objects of Young Germany, as defined by the Berne Committee in 1834. These resolutions were embodied in a manifesto, a printed copy of which reached me at the time, and is as follows:—

"1. The soil is the collective property of mankind. No individual has a right to property in the soil. He

who cultivates it has a right to as much of the produce as he and his family require for the supply of their wants; the rest belongs to the community, all labour being social, not individual.

"2. Property is not an individual, but a social, right. Modern private property is the result of production based upon the antagonism of classes and the subjection of man to man. When the war of the worker and the master is finished, and then only, will the Revolution be completed; property will then cease to be private, and become social.

"3. All men have a right to the full satisfaction of their physical and intellectual wants. There is but one condition in which there can be no privileges with respect to material things.

"4. It is the duty of all to increase the social wealth by their labour and talents. He who does not work has no right to satisfy his wants. The producer alone can claim to be a consumer.

"These principles being established, the following consequences will ensue:—

"1. All seignorial properties, all mines belonging to companies, &c., will be declared the property of the State, to be worked by the best appliances, and according to the methods most approved by science. The proprietors will be indemnified by an annuity of four per cent. for twenty years.

"2. The farmers will pay rent to the State. The proprietors, who are neither farmers nor labourers, have no share in the production, and therefore no right to the produce.

"3. Private banks will be replaced by State banks.

Paper money being used instead of gold or silver, it will regulate credit for all parties, and unite the conservative middle classes to the Revolution.

"4. All means of transit, roads, railways, canals, &c., will become the property of the State.

"5. The law of inheritance will be restricted.

"6. All taxes on articles of consumption will be abolished, and a system of direct taxation introduced.

"7. Functionaries will not be paid according to their grade, but according to their requirements. This law may be modified twenty-five years after the establishment of the Republic.

"8. The Church will be entirely separated from the State. Each parish will pay its own clergy.

"9. Justice will be gratuitous.

"10. Education will be gratuitous.

"11. All will be compelled to labour. There will be no idle standing army, for the military will be industrial. The army will produce as well as consume. This will be a means for the organisation of labour.

"12. National manufactories may be established. The State will guarantee the subsistence of all who work, and take care of those who are incapable of working."

The collapse of the Frankfort scheme, the results of which were so hopefully awaited by the people, came in the following spring, as the Republicans had anticipated; and the popular conviction that the Federal Diet had recognised the Constituent Assembly only for the purpose of allaying the excitement of 1848, and with the intention of repudiating its conclusions when they were ripe for execution, produced a dangerous ferment. On the 13th of May a

popular demonstration took place at Offenburg, in Baden, at which the conduct of the Prussian Government, in refusing to recognise the results of the deliberations at Frankfort, was vehemently denounced, and a proposal made to levy military execution upon Prussian territory. At Carlsruhe the troops evinced symptoms of insubordination; at Bruchsal the establishment of a Republic was advocated by members of Young Germany, and, on some arrests being made in consequence, a tumult ensued, and the prisoners were forcibly liberated by a riotous mob. The attitude of the people became more and more hostile to the Government of the Grand Duke, and he left Carlsruhe, and took up his residence at Hagenau until the tide of revolt had receded.

The movement extended into the Bavarian territory westward of the Rhine, and Provisional Governments were set up simultaneously at Carlsruhe and Kaiserslautern. Between these bodies a military convention was concluded, and energetic measures adopted for defence against that armed resistance to revolt which the King of Prussia had offered to all his brother kings and kinglings who might need it, as an encouragement to them to join him in repudiating the Constitution elaborated at Frankfort. The insurgent districts of Bavaria being separated from the rest of the kingdom by Baden and Wurtemberg, the King availed of Frederick William's offer, and a Prussian force was despatched to them under the command of General Weber. On the 13th of June the insurgents were attacked near Homburg, a town ten miles south-west from Kaiserslautern, and sustaining a defeat, retreated into the natural

fastnesses of the Vosges. General Weber did not pursue them, but directed his march towards the seat of the Provisional Government.

On the approach of the Prussian troops the directors of the movement retired to Neustadt, a town eighteen miles to the south-east. On the following day a division of the Prussian army marched to Kirchheim, and encountered a body of insurgents, who fell back upon Mannheim; while another division, after some skirmishing, attacked Frankenthal, drove out the insurgents, and occupied both that town and Oygersheim. Mieroslawski, a Polish refugee, and a man of considerable military skill, had now had his offer of service accepted by the directors of the movement, and the warlike operations of the insurgents began to be conducted with more system. Ludwigshafen, opposite Mannheim, was strongly entrenched; and the Polish leader, being invested with the command, put himself at the head of the main body of the insurgents in Baden.

On the 15th, Mieroslawski attacked one of the Prussian divisions which was marching towards Wernheim; but though his forces were numerically superior to those of the enemy, suffered a repulse, and was compelled to fall back. On the same day the other division stormed the entrenchments at Ludwigshafen, forcing the defenders to evacuate the place and retreat southward, along the left bank of the Rhine. Prince William of Prussia (now Emperor of Germany) then assumed the command of the Prussian forces, and issued a proclamation, threatening with death all who opposed him. The insurgents still kept the field, however, and on the 22nd the

division of General Hannehen was attacked by Mieroslawski at the village of Waghausel, where a severe engagement took place. The Prussian troops stood firm, and the arrival of reinforcements, numbering six or seven thousand, decided the conflict in their favour.

Mieroslawski retreated into the forests bordering the Neckar, whence he soon issued, however, showing as bold a front as before. Encountered by the Prussians near Ettlingen, and again defeated, he led his broken forces across the Murg in good order, and shut himself up with them in the fortified town of Rastadt. Prince William immediately surrounded the place with his forces, and his cannon soon compelled a surrender. Mieroslawski and many of his followers escaped, but hundreds of them were less fortunate, and the ramparts of the fortress echoed for weeks afterwards the reports of the volleys by which the captured insurgents were hurried out of the world.

Those volleys were the knell of German liberty and unity for eighteen years, during which it was dangerous to speak or write of matters which the King of Prussia had, in 1848, declared to be those upon which he had most set his mind and heart. Many of those who escaped the bullets of Prince William were arrested wherever they were found, and immured in the cells of Rastadt and Spandau. Others succeeded in getting beyond the frontier, and found a refuge in London. Professor Kinkel, arrested for the boldness of his comments on the conduct of Frederick William and his Ministers, was liberated from Spandau by a well-contrived scheme of escape,

planned and executed by Carl Schurz, one of the fugitives of Rastadt. Freiligrath, the poet, prosecuted at Dusseldorf for his stirring address of *The Dead to the Living*—the dead being the victims of the onslaught made upon the Berliners in March, 1848, by the troops—was acquitted by a courageous jury, and lost no time in reaching London. Carl Schurz, doubly compromised by his participation in the Baden insurrection and the deliverance of Kinkel, made his way to Bremen, and crossed the Atlantic, to return five-and-twenty years afterwards as the diplomatic representative of the United States at the Court of free and united Germany. These incidents of the counter-revolution broke up and scattered the forces of Young Germany, and, without being formally dissolved, it ceased to have an organised existence.

CHAPTER XV.

YOUNG POLAND.

THE circumstances in which this Society was formed at Berne, in 1834, have already been related. Among the Polish refugees who formed its nucleus was a young man named Simon Konarski, born of a noble family, and distinguished by his intellectual qualities and attainments while yet a student at the University of Wilna. He probably became at that time a member of the Templar organisation, for, on the outbreak of the revolution, he received a commission in the national army. He was then twenty-two years of age. The courage and address which he displayed led very soon to his promotion to the rank of captain, and he afterwards was awarded the Cross of Honour as a further recognition of his merits and his services to the national cause.

On the extinction of the revolt, in the manner already related, Konarski found means to escape into France, where he remained until the outbreak of the Polish insurrection of 1833. The refugees in Switzerland, France, and England no sooner heard of this movement than they hastened to their native country, to organise the insurgents, and rouse the spirit o. revolt throughout Poland. Konarski left Besançon, and made his way, with a few other refugees, to the

scene of the insurrection. He found the revolt crushed, and no hope of its resuscitation remaining. His arrival soon became known to the imperial authorities, and his connexions, his antecedents, and his abilities marking him as dangerous, orders were given for his arrest. The Russian officer who first received information of his lurking-place had been a member of the United Sclavonians. He proceeded to the house at which Konarski was staying, and warned the owner of the peril in which his friend stood. "I am one of the followers of Sergius Mouravieff," he added; "you understand me; save your friend." The hint was taken; Konarski set out at once for the coast, and, reaching Dantzig in safety, took passage at that port for Antwerp.

The ill-fated expedition in which General Ramorino was engaged, under the direction of Mazzini, was then being organised, and Konarski, with some other Polish refugees, joined it. It has often been made a reproach to these men that they have been ever ready to aid the Revolution, whether in Poland or in Italy, Germany, Hungary, or Dalmatia—that, in the words of their national poet, Casimir Brodzinski, they—

> Scour the wide earth, invoking Liberty;

but they are, in truth, more deserving of honour than reproach for not having allowed the sense of their own wrongs to obliterate their sympathies for the oppressed of other nations. Bem, Dembinski, Mieroslawski, Konarski, saw in the Revolution the cause of their own country, moreover, and have felt that every blow struck for the liberties of Italy, Hungary, or Germany hastened the emancipation of Poland.

Konarski proceeded from Antwerp to Geneva, and learned the craft of watchmaking, in order that, in the event of his again entering his native country as a propagandist of revolution, he might deceive the authorities by seeming to make its pursuit his only object. Having thus prepared himself, he visited London in 1835, and developed a plan for organising a new revolt in Poland to the Central Committee of his exiled compatriots. It was a daring scheme, and audacity sometimes succeeds where caution fails; but his countrymen in London regarded it with doubt, and endeavoured to dissuade him from its execution. Konarski would listen to no doubts or fears, however, and, receiving from them at length all the assistance it was in their power to give him, he set out upon his dangerous enterprise.

He proceeded first to Cracow, where he remained some little time; and then travelled through the provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, and Lithuania, communicating in each district that he visited with a few persons whose patriotism and honour would prove his safeguard, arranging with them a system of secret correspondence, and then leaving to them the organisation of their respective localities. By some means, however, information was conveyed to the imperial authorities that a conspiracy was being organised, and efforts were made by the secret police to discover its authors. For some time all these efforts were vain, and the Young Polish organisation, made impenetrable by its secret system, widened and gained strength. It embraced many officers in the imperial army, as well as large numbers of the priests, the landed gentry, and the farmers. The handsome person, genial man-

ners, and fluent speech of Konarski made him a favourite in every society, and women of all classes, ladies of high rank, and the wives and daughters of the peasantry were won over by him in great numbers to aid in the enterprise that, as they fondly hoped, was to liberate their country.

The organisation was progressing favourably when Konarski was arrested, in May, 1838, at Wilna. Refusing to make any disclosures, he was severely knouted on several occasions; and it is even said that, in order to extract the desired revelations from him, his torturers dropped melted sealing-wax on the wounds made by the knout. He more than once fainted under these horrible barbarities, but constantly refused to divulge any particulars of the conspiracy. A Russian officer named Kouravieff—probably another United Sclavonian—became interested in his fate, and contrived a plan for his escape from prison; but it was betrayed to the authorities by a fellow-prisoner who had pretended to participate in it, and who probably by that treachery obtained a pardon for himself. Kouravieff was arrested, and carted off to Siberia; and Konarski, after suffering nine months of the most rigorous imprisonment, was hanged at Wilna on the 27th of February, 1839. He died with the fortitude of a martyr, walking with a firm step to the place of execution, and evincing no symptom of agitation, even by the movement of a muscle, as the rope was adjusted about his neck.

Young Poland did not immediately become extinct, but, while there undoubtedly remained, both among the refugees and in their native land, many who still cherished the hope of national independence, the ma-

jority seem to have become dispirited by their repeated failures and defeats. Even the stimulus afforded by the French Revolution of 1848 failed to produce any movement in Poland beyond the isolated and abortive effort in which Colonel Oborski participated. Dembinski and Bem preferred to serve the Revolution in Hungary, and Mieroslawski received more encouragement from Young Germany than from Young Poland.

When the counter-revolution of 1849 had made London the refuge of fugitives from all parts of the Continent, and rendered it the centre of the revolutionary system, Kossuth, Mazzini, and Ledru-Rollin were brought together, and became the triumvirate of a propaganda that threatened to erase from the map of Europe the old boundary lines, and draw the frontiers of the future in accordance with the affinities of nations. "The fall of Sebastopol is but the first word of a war the last word of which belongs to the peoples," was the announcement made in 1855 in a manifesto signed by Kossuth, Ledru-Rollin, and Mazzini, and very widely circulated. "Every great movement," they continued, "must have a centre whence the initiation must spring; an arm to raise the flag of the march, a voice to cry aloud, The hour has come! We are that arm, and that voice."

They went on to show how the fear of the Revolution that was inevitable paralysed the action of the Powers opposed to Russia:—

"Revolution troubles their councils, dominates their plans, impedes their movements, and paralyses their military operations. It is the fear of the uprising of the nationalities which causes them to crouch, coward-like, at the feet of Austria, whom, at the

bottom of their hearts, they despise; it is the fear of a Polish insurrection, the dread of seeing the revolutionary flag raised in Podolia and Lithuania, which has shut them out from Odessa and Riga; it was the fear of raising an echo in Hungary which made them renounce the campaign beyond the Danube, and deliver up the Principalities to the Austrian invasion; it was the fear of the effect upon the peoples of the smallest territorial change that obliged them to respect the integrity of the Russian Empire, and deprived them of the Swedish alliance; it is the fear of the Revolution which would meet them on every side, wherever the scent of battle should react on the hostile masses, which forbids them from a general war, and limits them to an isolated point of the Muscovite territory, between the sea and the steppes."

The extent to which this revolutionary triumvirate proposed to alter the map of Europe is indicated in the following extract, which is worthy of more careful study than it has yet received, and is rendered especially interesting at the present time by the events in progress in the frontier lands of the Kaiser and the Sultan:—

"Revolution alone can resolve the vital question of the nationalities, which superficial intelligences continue to misunderstand, but which we know to be the organisation of Europe. It alone can give the baptism of humanity to those races who claim to be associated in the common work, and to whom the sign of their nationality is denied; it alone can regenerate Italy to a third life, and say to Hungary and Poland, *exist;* it alone can unite Spain and Portugal into an Iberian republic, create a young Scandinavia,

give a material existence to Illyria, organise Greece, extend Switzerland to the dimensions of an Alpine confederacy, and group in a free fraternity, making them an eastern Switzerland, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Bosnia."

The twenty years which have elapsed since this manifesto of Young Europe was sent forth among the peoples have witnessed the liberation and unification of Italy, the recognition of Magyar claims to independence in the new style and title of the Kaiser's dominions, and the construction of a new German Confederation on the broad basis of popular rights and a common Parliament. With the lapse of another twenty years the rest of the programme of Young Europe—much of it already on the cards—may be fulfilled. The union of Spain and Portugal is a scheme not unknown to the statesmen of both countries; the revival of the Union of Calmar has more than once occupied the minds of diplomatists; and the constitution of a Danubian Confederation is one of the most likely events of a period much shorter than has been indicated.

CHAPTER XVI.

YOUNG SWITZERLAND.

AT the time when the idea of Young Europe was realised by Mazzini there was a considerable degree of dissatisfaction existing among the Swiss, especially of the towns, with both the Federal and Cantonal Constitutions, arising from the inequality of the cantonal representation in the Federal Diet and the anomalies of the franchise in the different cantons. There was a strong democratic party aiming at the removal of these inequalities and anomalies, with the head and right hand of which, Jacques Fazy and General Dufour, Mazzini was intimately acquainted. They had been in the secret of the Savoy scheme, and were prepared to support any movement that would strengthen the democratic element in the political institutions of their country.

Young Switzerland was launched into existence for this purpose towards the end of 1834, under the auspices of a committee of Swiss gentlemen, some of whom were members of the Federal Council. It may seem strange that a secret society of native growth and having a domestic object should grow up among a people living under Republican institutions; but it will be seen upon consideration that, unless the less populous cantons consented to a proportionate repre-

sentation of the more populous, and the privileged minorities in the aristocratic cantons voluntarily surrendered to the unenfranchised majorities, reform was as impracticable by peaceful and constitutional means as the emancipation of the slaves was in the United States.

For the furtherance of the desired reforms, the committee of Young Switzerland contributed funds for the establishment of a journal, which made its appearance in June, 1835, with the title of *La Jeune Suisse*. It was printed at Bienne, in the canton of Berne, and appeared bi-weekly, in French and German. The compositors were French and German refugees, the director, Professor Weingart, and the editor, Granier, who had formerly edited the *Glaneuse*, a Republican journal of Lyons, from which city he was a refugee on account of the insurrection of 1832. The German translator was a refugee named Mafy. The affiliation of Young Switzerland to Young Europe, and the known connexion with the latter of Mazzini, was fatal, however, to the journal's existence.

In July, 1836, a French detective, named Conseil, arrived in Berne, where he assiduously cultivated the acquaintance of the refugees in cafés and other places of public resort. To those with whom he succeeded he represented himself as a member of the Families and an accomplice of Alibaud, who had just before attempted to assassinate Louis Philippe. Through some Italian refugees with whom he became acquainted he endeavoured to obtain an introduction to Mazzini, who was too cautious, however, to give an interview to a stranger who declared himself an accomplice of Alibaud to men whom he had met only

in cafés. Suspecting Conseil to be a spy, he instructed the Italians with whom the man had become acquainted to accuse him, and endeavour by threats to induce him to confess and give up his papers. In this they succeeded, and even caused Conseil to go to the French Embassy, where, watched by the refugees, he received from Belleval, the secretary of the Duke of Montebello, some money and a list of the refugees.

Having received Conseil's confession, Mazzini communicated with the Swiss police, and the Federal Council ordered a full inquiry to be made, the result of which was that the French Ambassador, who had denounced Conseil as an accomplice of Alibaud, was shown to have been in communication with him, while the spy was exposed by his own confession as an agent of the French police. The Duke of Montebello was furious, and threatened the Swiss Government with the suspension of diplomatic relations, and, under the influence of this threat, the Federal Council arrested successively Mafy, the reader and compositors of *La Jeune Suisse*, some of the contributors, and Professor Weingart. The journal ceased to appear at the end of July, and the edict for the expulsion of Mazzini from Switzerland was issued shortly afterwards, as already related.

The Society made less progress after receiving this check, and, after a time, was transformed into the Association of the Grütli, having the same objects, but unconnected with Young Europe. The new organisation worked quietly for a few years, and attracted no attention until 1844, when, the Cantonal Government of Zurich having appointed a commission to inquire and report concerning the alleged existence

of secret and illegal societies in the canton, the Grütli was one of the three associations reported as coming within the category, the trio being completed by Young Germany and the Communists. The Society was at that time very strong, especially in the Protestant cantons, the religious discords of the last three years having increased and extended the desire for constitutional reforms as a means to the diminution of the power and influence of the Romish hierarchy.

While the inquiry was in progress in the canton of Zurich, the religious dissensions which had been agitating Switzerland, and embittering the relations between the Cantonal Governments, culminated in civil war. On the 8th of December, 1844, the members of the Grütli assembled in arms, and marched into the canton of Lucerne, the authorities of which had provoked their wrath by their invitations to the Jesuits. They were repulsed in their attempt to enter the town of Lucerne, however, and the Cantonal Government proceeded to arrest and expel from the canton every man who had taken part in the movement. Intense excitement was created by this measure, no fewer than eleven hundred persons being banished from the canton; and the Society prepared at once to renew the attack with increased numbers and improved organisation. On the 30th of March, 1845, eight hundred men, all armed with rifles, and having with them twelve light guns, attacked Lucerne, under the direction of Colonel Ochsenbein; but the militia of the adjoining cantons having been called into Lucerne to aid in the defence, the assailants were again repulsed, many of them being killed and several hundreds made prisoners.

The Catholic cantons thereupon formed a league for their mutual defence, in defiance of the Constitution, which declared that "no alliances shall be formed by the cantons with each other to the prejudice either of the Confederation generally or of the rights of other cantons." In the following year the whole subject was brought before the Federal Diet, when the expulsion of the Jesuits was resolved upon by eleven votes against nine, and the Catholic League was declared illegal by eleven votes against seven. Nothing was done, however, towards pursuing these resolutions to their natural conclusions, and the influence of the Grütli was exerted in the next general election to increase the strength of the Radical party in the Federal Diet. Geneva, Berne, and St. Gall were gained, and the Diet again declared, by larger majorities, that the Catholic League and the Society of Jesus were illegal associations. After the failure of several attempts to procure the dissolution of the former and the departure of the Jesuits, the Diet resolved to enforce its resolutions; and on the 13th of November, 1847, General Dufour was before Friburg with twenty-five thousand Federal troops and seventy guns. Resistance to such a force was not to be thought of, and the Cantonal Government capitulated.

On the 22nd General Dufour advanced against Lucerne, with his army augmented to sixty thousand men and two hundred guns, against which the Catholic League could array only eighteen thousand men and forty guns. The forces of the League were defeated, and Lucerne surrendered, the immediate consequences being the dissolution of the League and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland. Monastic establish-

ments, the suppression of which in the canton of Aargau had been the signal for the religious agitation, were suppressed all over the country, and the cantons which had formed the Catholic League were made liable for the expenses of the war.

The French and Austrian Governments, which had vainly attempted to induce the Federal Government not to enforce the resolutions of the Diet, tried the effect of menaces throughout these proceedings; but the revolutions of 1848 obliged them to refrain from intervention, and the Radicals, supported by the Grütli, availed of the opportunity to revise the Constitution. The control of the army, the direction of foreign relations, the settlement of disputes between cantons, and the police and postal arrangements were given to the Federal Diet, and the executive power vested in a council of seven members, elected for three years. The suffrage question was settled by the assimilation of the franchises, and the assignment of one deputy to every twenty thousand of the population. Thus the objects of the Grütli were accomplished, and the Society was thereupon dissolved.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE COMMUNISTS.

THE Communist Societies in Switzerland, which have been mentioned in the preceding chapter, had their nucleus in a little group of Swiss and German workmen at Geneva, who, about 1837, imbibed the views of society and property which had been set forth by Wilhelm Weitling in a remarkable work, entitled "L'Evangile de la Pécheurs Pauvres." Weitling, an earnest advocate of those ideas of the reconstruction of society which, in various forms, were then engaging the attention of many thoughtful men in France and England, found in the teaching of the Gospel a full exposition of Communism, and commented upon those passages of the New Testament which will bear that construction in language that, being at once forcible and clear, was peculiarly calculated to commend his views to the minds of those among the working classes who, without being trammelled by sacerdotal influences, had not received the religious views of the ultra Rationalists.

Wilhelm Weitling left Germany to avoid military service, which was as incompatible with his principles as it was distasteful to him, and proceeded to Paris, where he found occupation at his trade, that of the tailor. He there imbibed the views of society which

found exponents in the works of Cabet, Proudhon, and Constant. Of the three systems founded by those leaders of the French schools of Communism, he embraced the first, which, unlike that of Proudhon, taught that Christianity was Communism, and, unlike that of Constant, inculcated universal charity and fraternity as one of its leading principles.

After much thoughtful study of the social theories propounded in Cabet's "Voyage en Icarie," Proudhon's "La Propriété est Vol," and St. Simon's "Neuve Christianisme," by the light of the New Testament, he conceived the idea of a work which should mingle religion with politics and social science, somewhat after the manner of the great work of St. Simon, but more deeply tinged with ultra democracy. The result was "L' Evangile de la Pécheurs Pauvres," which created among the workmen of Germany a sensation equal to that which had been produced in France by the celebrated "Paroles d'un Croyant" of Lamennais. Starting with the declaration that faith, hope, and charity are the cardinal points of the Christian system, the author reviewed the acts and words of its Founder, and maintained that Jesus abjured the private family and private property, and taught the abolition of money and heritage, and the communisation of rights, property, labour, and enjoyment.

Proceeding from Paris to Geneva, Weitling began to propagate his views among the workmen of that city, and to found secret societies for their diffusion in other towns of the canton of Vaud. Clubs for the cultivation of vocal music, which exist in most of the Swiss towns, appear to have been, in most instances,

the bases of the Communist Associations, which thus preserved the same outward form. Their objects were stated to be the "enfranchisement of all humanity, the abolition of private property, of heritage, of money, of wages, of laws, and of punishments; they desiring an equal partition of works and enjoyments, according to the natural proportions."* By the rules of admission to these societies, candidates were required to be proposed fifteen days before their reception, in order to allow time for making inquiries concerning their character and antecedents. These resulting satisfactorily, the member was introduced by his proposer, and the officers of the Society interrogated them after the manner of the Illuminati and the Carbonari.

According to a MS. seized by the police, on the arrest of Weitling, and appended to the official report of the Zurich Commission of 1844:—"*a.* They demand of those who present them for what purpose they bring them; *b*, what end they have in view, and what means they believe efficacious. *c.* They complete their answers and enlighten them further. They represent to them especially the necessity of silence and of sacrifices, and make them understand that if each introduced his man every month, or even two months, they would, by the end of the year, attain their end without violence, by a simple majority. *d.* They demand again if they adhere to all these things. *e.* After which they take their engagement. *f.* The junction of the Association follows." An address on the principles of the Association was

* Rapport de la Commission sur les Sociétés Secrètes," Zurich, 1844.

delivered by the chief—another feature common to many of the secret societies, as has already been shown. At each meeting of the Society, the chief asked each member in turn what he had done since their last gathering towards the furtherance of their common object, whether in propagating their principles or in enlisting new members; and, if any one had been remiss, or had proceeded awkwardly, he was suitably admonished and directed.

In a few years the Communist Societies were established at Geneva, Lausanne, La Chaux-de-Fonds, and Zurich, without attracting the attention of the Cantonal authorities; but in 1843 Weitling was arrested at Zurich, on charges of sedition and conspiracy, and a commission was appointed by the Government of the canton to inquire into the character and objects of the various secret societies which were reported to have been introduced from the West. After several months' imprisonment, Weitling was handed over to the authorities of Prussia, his native country, where he was forced to assume the military service from which he had fled. He evaded the greater part of his term of service, however, and made his escape to London.

He was regarded by his followers as a martyr, and the principles which he advocated spread more rapidly than before, not only in Switzerland, but throughout Germany. The greatest strength of the Communists was still in the canton of Vaud, but there was a strong Society at La Chaux-de-Fonds, and smaller Associations in several other towns of Neuchatel. In 1845, however, the Government of that canton instituted an inquiry, in consequence of the report made by the

Zurich Commission, and the result was the forced dissolution of all the Communist Societies in Neuchatel, and the arrest of the principal members, followed by their imprisonment and banishment from the canton.

These proceedings having directed the public attention to the Communist organisation and propaganda, a petition was presented to the Diet of the canton of Vaud, signed by eighteen hundred of the clergy, landowners, and others, praying for the dissolution of all German Communist Societies throughout the canton, the banishment of their leaders, the dismissal of the Communist members of the Council of State, and the submission to re-election of all the Communist members of the Grand Council. Only one member of the Diet spoke in support of this petition, and the President proposed an examination of the Communist Societies, and protection for them if they should be found unobjectionable. This was agreed to, and the result of the attention called to the Communists seemed thus far to be favourable to them; but in the end Kuhlmann and Becker, the former belonging to the medical, the latter to the literary profession, and both Germans, were expelled from the canton, and the Society at Lausanne was forcibly dissolved.

While this inquiry was in progress, a Communist Society was discovered at Berne, where the authorities arrested and expelled a German compositor, who was the president of the committee, and dissolved the Association. Dr. Puttmann, a German refugee residing at Zurich, at this time commenced the issue of a Communist journal in German, entitled *Rheinische Annalen*, and arrangements were made for

secretly publishing it in the towns of Baden, Wurtemberg, the Hesses, and the Rhenish districts of Bavaria and Prussia. The first number was seized, however, at Darmstadt, where fifty-five copies were confiscated by the authorities; and Dr. Puttmann was expelled from Zurich by order of the Cantonal Government.

By these measures the progress of the Society was checked, but its ramifications were gradually extended over the whole of Germany, though none of the branches were very strong. The members being, with very few exceptions, working men, the directors of the movement had but small means wherewith to carry on the propaganda, and the repressive measures of the German Governments constituted an additional obstacle. "Our German friends are powerless," an English Communist, acquainted with Weitling, wrote to me in 1847, at which time the movement in Switzerland seemed to have been stamped out. In the following year it became difficult to distinguish the operations of the Communists from those of Young Germany, so much had the latter Society become imbued with the principles that had been enunciated by Weitling; and the counter-revolution scattered the members of both, and broke up their organisation.

At the present time, while the societary theories which have been propounded during the last fifty years are held by large numbers of the working classes, attention is more immediately directed to the formation and extension of trade unions, and the amelioration of the laws affecting the moral and

material interests of those classes. As we have seen in England, the realisation of what is immediately practicable is placed before the pursuit of an Utopia, and the possession of the franchise leads the workmen to look to legislation, rather than to pikes and barricades, for the amelioration of their condition.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FENIANS.

IT will have been remarked that the designations adopted by secret societies of a political and illegal character are, as a rule, void of significance. The Olympians might have been, for aught that was expressed in the name, a society for the cultivation of gymnastic exercises, like the German Turnverein; and the Carbonari, a provident society of Charcoal-burners. The Hetairia was a title no more suggestive of revolutionary designs than that of the Old Friends who meet in the club-rooms of English public-houses; and the Templars, the Families, and the Seasons had a vagueness under which aims as laudable as those of the Druids and the Foresters might have been pursued. But the name adopted by the formidable organisation that had its nucleus and centre among the Irish immigrants in the city of New York combined a traditional significance with an attractive amount of the indispensable element of mystery.

Of the various explanations that have been offered, the most natural seems to be that which derives Fenian from Fionn or Finn MacCoul, a chief famous in Irish legend and tradition, who lived before the Christian era, and has been considered to be identical with the Fingal of Ossian. The Fenians of that somewhat

mythical period of Irish history are variously thought to have been Finn's body-guard, a militia, and a military caste; in either character, they were the men of Finn, and there was an undoubted advantage to the progress of modern Fenianism in the association of the movement with the traditionary glories of a period hidden in the mists of antiquity.

The Fenian Association was founded about 1861 by John O'Mahony and Michael Doheny, both of whom were deeply implicated in the Irish conspiracy of 1848, but contrived to elude the vigilance of the authorities, and reach the United States. O'Mahony, after the suppression of the abortive rising initiated by Smith O'Brien, made his escape to France, and afterwards proceeded to New York, where he met Doheny, one of the most able of the leaders who acted under the direction of O'Brien, Meagher, and Mitchel. Among the Irish of all classes then resident in New York there were many who had participated in the abortive conspiracy and insurrection of 1848, or had near relatives who had been implicated in the exciting events of that year. The failure of that movement had impressed the strongest minds amongst them with the conviction that a successful issue could be hoped for in any future rising of the Irish only from a thorough organisation of the masses. To this end it was deemed necessary that their aim should be pursued secretly, by ways and means abundantly suggested by the history of the United Irishmen, whose machinery was ready to their hands.

The constitution and organisation of the Society are set forth as follows in a printed pamphlet which was given to all the members on their enrolment:—

"1. *The Fenian Brotherhood.*—The Fenian Brotherhood is a distinct and independent organisation. It is composed, in the first place, of citizens of the United States of America, of Irish birth and lineage; and, in the second place, of Irishmen, and of friends of Ireland, living elsewhere on the American Continent, and in the provinces of the British Empire wherever situated. Its head-quarters are, and shall be, within the limits of the United States of America. Its members are bound together by the following general pledge:

"2. *General Pledge.*—I, —— ——, solemnly pledge my sacred word of honour, as a truthful and honest man, that I will labour with earnest zeal for the liberation of Ireland from the yoke of England, and for the establishment of a free and independent Government on the Irish soil; that I will implicitly obey the commands of my superior officers in the Fenian Brotherhood; that I will faithfully discharge the duties of membership as laid down in the constitution and bye-laws thereof; that I will do my utmost to promote feelings of love, harmony, and kindly forbearance among all Irishmen; and that I will foster, defend, and propagate the aforesaid Fenian Brotherhood to the utmost of my power.

"3. *Form of Organisation.*—The Fenian Brotherhood shall be subdivided into State organisations, Circles, and Sub-Circles. It shall be directed and governed by a Head Centre, to direct the whole organisation; State Centres, to direct State organisations; Centres, to direct Circles; and Sub-Centres, to direct Sub-Circles. The Head Centre shall be assisted by a Central Council of five; by a Central Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer; by a Central Corresponding

Secretary and a Central Recording Secretary; and by such intermediate officers as the Head Centre may from time to time deem necessary for the efficient working of the organisation.

"4. The Head Centre shall be elected annually by a General Congress of representatives of the Fenian Brotherhood, which Congress shall be composed of the State Congress and the Centres, together with elected delegates from the several circles of the organisation—each circle in good standing being entitled to elect one delegate."

All that was sought by the Fenians is not expressed in the foregoing statement of the Society's objects. There is nothing expressed to separate them from the United Irishmen, from whom, however, they differed widely in their principles and aims. The elder association aimed at the establishment of an Irish Republic by the union of Irishmen of all classes and creeds in a movement directed to that end, in which the clergy and laity, both Catholic and Protestant, worked cordially together, and the aboriginal Celts fraternised with those descendants of British immigrants of whom it used to be said that they were "more Irish than the Irish themselves." These relations remained unchanged to the time of the collapse of the revolutionary movement of 1848.

The Fenian movement excluded both the clerical and the Anglo-Irish elements, the former on the grounds of the Papal interdiction of secret societies and the hostility of the priests to the movement of 1848, and the latter as incompatible with the popular demand of "Ireland for the Irish." Its promoters were men of a stern mould, and, having committed

themselves to a great enterprise, were resolved not to be baulked by sacerdotal influences or Anglo-Irish sympathies. It was a social as well as a political revolution which they meditated, and "Ireland for the Irish," as interpreted by them, meant the dispossession of every landowner who could not prove his descent from the old Milesian stock, and the partition of his estate among those who could.

The Fenian organisation, like that of the United Irishmen, was military, the unit being a company, and the companies being formed into battalions, regiments, and brigades. The registers showed the strength and efficiency of every company, signs being affixed to each man's name to indicate his degree of preparedness for action; thus V showed that the member against whose name it appeared was provided with a rifle, Λ that he was armed with a sporting gun or a pistol, | that he possessed a pike, and O that he was destitute of a weapon. Initiation was termed enrolment, and was completed by the recruit repeating and signing the pledge of the Association. Pierce Nagle, the informer, in his evidence before the Special Commission of 1865, spoke of an oath taken upon a prayer-book; but the statement is at variance with the printed constitution of the Brotherhood, and it is probable that the oath was administered only when the initiator and the candidate for admission attached peculiar sanctity to that form of undertaking. Only the candidate and the initiator were present when the pledge was administered. There was a code of laws, as among the Carbonari, and a tribunal for their administration, as was shown by a document found in the house of Luby, a member

of the executive committee of the Brotherhood in Ireland, when he was arrested. The emblem of the Association was the sun rising behind a ridge of hills.

The central committee had its seat in New York, whence agents went forth in the early years of the Society's existence to form branches in the principal cities of the Northern and Western States. Members were enrolled from all classes of Irishmen, correspondence opened with friends in Ireland, and great exertions made to procure the adhesion of Irish officers in the Federal army, and through them of the Irishmen serving in the regiments or companies which they commanded. The "Head Centre," as the chief of the Association was designated, was John O'Mahony, who seems to have held a good position in New York; and his two most active agents during the early years of the movement were James Stephens and Thomas Clarke Luby, men admirably adapted for the delicate and dangerous work in which they were constantly engaged. Luby was working actively in the United States in the summer of 1863, as an organiser of the movement, among the Irish settlers in the North and West; and Stephens was engaged in the same task in Ireland, where the organisation made rapid progress, chiefly among the artisans and small shopkeepers of Dublin, Cork, Clonmel, and the small towns of Munster.

In the autumn of that year a convention of delegates of the Brotherhood was held at Chicago, when the following address, "To the Brotherhood all over the World," was adopted, and secretly distributed wherever Fenian agents had found an opening for their efforts:—

"Brothers!—We deem it prudent to withhold for the present from publication in the newspapers certain important resolutions having special reference to the revolutionary element in Ireland, which have been submitted to this convention by the Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, and unanimously adopted. Printed copies of these resolutions will be placed before the different circles of our organisation in this country, and will also be transmitted, at the earliest fitting opportunity, to our friends at home. In the meantime, we do not wish to separate without addressing to you a few guarded words, such as we can afford to have read by all whom it may concern, respecting the present aspect of our cause. We are solemnly pledged to labour earnestly and continuously for the regeneration of our beloved Ireland. That pledge, with the blessing of Divine Providence, we shall redeem; and when the wished-for hour will have arrived we shall be prepared, with you, to meet the implacable persecutors of our race in battle array, to put an end for ever to the accursed system under which our unhappy people have suffered such cruel tortures, or die like men in the attempt. And in what holier cause has man ever died? How much Irish blood has fallen upon the battlefields of the world? Alas! how much Irish blood has been shed in the service of our country's oppressor—the plunderer and murderer of her people—the fell enemy of her faith? Over this subject and others connected with it we have pondered long and bitterly. But our resolve is fixed and irrevocable; the foul stigma that attaches to our name must be wiped out. We do not ask, will you be ready? We know you are ready; nine-tenths

of the Irish people have at all times been ready in the heart and will to dispute with armed hands the invader's right to enslave and exterminate them. But this is not enough. We must be 'skilled to do,' as well as 'ready to dare.' We are thoroughly convinced of the utter futility of legal and constitutional agitations, Parliamentary 'policies,' and similar delusions. These things have brought more suffering upon our people than would be caused by the most protracted and devastating war. The best of them would but expose the ardent and the brave to the vengeance of cruel despots; and be it remembered that such sacrifices beget no noble aspirations. No enslaved people ever regained their independence, or became formidable to their enslavers, without (in the enslaved sense) pre-organisation. . . . . Here we have soldiers armed and trained (thousands of them trained in the tented field, and amid the smoke and thunders of battle), with able and experienced Generals to lead them. Let the cities, and towns, and parishes of Ireland have their brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies of partially disciplined soldiers of liberty silently enrolled. Above all things, let every man be pledged to obey the commands of his superiors, and pledged also never to move without such commands, for obedience to command is the first and most important requisite to the soldier; all the rest is secondary. Thus you will not only be prepared to strike with effect, but all rash attempts at insurrection will be prevented. Without such an organisation as we contemplate, partial uprisings of the people will be sure to occur, leaving no results but the sacrifice of brave men, and, perhaps, the ruin of our cause. When

we strike, let us strike home; and are there not strong arms within the enemy's own shores to second the blow? Circumstances are in our favour, such as Providence never vouchsafed before to an enslaved people. We have but to act as becomes brave and reasoning men, and ours shall be the pride and glory of lifting our sorrowing Erin of the streams to her place among the nations. Brothers, rely upon us. We rely upon you.

"James Gibbons, Pennsylvania, *Chairman.*
John O'Mahony, New York, *President and Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood.*
Richard O'Doherty, Indiana,
Daniel Grady, Columbia,
Daniel Carmody, Wisconsin, } *Vice-Presidents.*
Henry O'C. Macarthy, Illinois,
John A. Stuart, Indiana, } *Secretaries.*"

The progress which the movement had made in Ireland by this time encouraged its promoters to commence the publication of a journal, which was issued in Dublin, under the title of the *Irish People*, O'Donovan Rossa being the registered proprietor, and Luby the editor. Stephens, who had been appointed Head Centre of the Brotherhood in Ireland, was connected with the journal during the early months of 1864, after which he proceeded to America, having previously delegated his powers to the persons named in the following document:—

"I hereby empower Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary, and Charles J. Kickham a committee of organisation or executive, with the same supreme control over the home organisation, England, Ireland,

and Scotland, that I have exercised myself. I further empower them to appoint a committee of appeal and judgment, the functions of which committee will be made known to every member of them. Trusting to the patriotism and abilities of the executive, I fully endorse their actions beforehand. I call upon every man in our ranks to support and be guided by them in all that concerns the military Brotherhood.

"J. STEPHENS."

The second annual convention of the Brotherhood was held at Cincinnati, when it was resolved that the next gathering should be held in Ireland. The Association then numbered a quarter of a million of members in America, and Fenian agents were constantly passing between Ireland and the United States. About this time the organisation was introduced into England, where it made rapid progress among the Irish workmen employed in the large towns, and especially in London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The promoters of the movement were not so cautious in their communications with each other, and with their agents, as the leaders of the later secret societies of Continental Europe have been, and letters were constantly passing between them, any one of which would, if a treasonable correspondence had been suspected, have revealed the plot to the Government.

The letters and documents found in their possession when they were arrested constituted, in fact, a large portion of the evidence of their designs.

One of their agents in England was a man named Archdeacon, to whom the following suggestions were

made in 1865, with a view to the creation of a diversion on this side of St. George's Channel :—

"I venture to suggest to you that every encouragement should be given to revive the Chartists. It can be shown to the working men of England, that if Ireland were independent, the Irish workman could get plenty of work and good wages at home. Freedom, therefore, would benefit the working man. The English farmer should be shown that we want to give the English peasant farmer the farm upon which he toils for an idle lord—we want to give him forty acres at least free for ever. We want a Garibaldi for England, a Sarsfield for Ireland, to move upon their enemies, the landlords of both countries, at the same moment. We have an Irish leader in John O'Mahony, backed by fifty thousand veteran Irish soldiers in America, ready for the word. Faithfully yours,

"THOMAS MOONEY."

The idea of reviving the Chartist agitation renders it probable that the writer was not unacquainted with the relations that existed between the Chartist conspirators and the Irish malcontents in 1848. Among the incidents of that period which are not generally known, were the mission of Macmanus to England for the purpose of establishing such relations, and the narrow escapes from capture which he had while in this country. His presence in London was known to the detectives, one of whom either tracked him to the meeting-place of the Westminster Chartists, at the Assembly Rooms in Dean Street, Soho, or was led to visit that place in the hope of hearing treason or sedition spoken. Being recognised by some person in the

room, the detective was pointed out to Macmanus, who, being a tall, powerful man, immediately ejected him from the room, and threw him down the stairs. On leaving London, the emissary of the Irish Republicans was accompanied by a detective to Liverpool, where, however, he contrived to elude the vigilance of his travelling companion in the bustle at the terminus and the crowded neighbourhood of the docks, and crossed over to Ireland. Relations were afterwards maintained between the Irish conspirators and the insurrectionary committee of which Cuffay was chairman by an artist named Dowling, who was tried and convicted at the same time as Cuffay and his associates.

At the time when Mooney suggested to Archdeacon the revival of these relations, the agitation for Parliamentary reform had, in fact, been renewed, and in the following year became strong enough to convince the most enlightened and far-seeing men of all parties that the demand could not longer be resisted with advantage. It was strong enough already to dispense with the aid of plotters for an Irish Republic, and the working men of England evinced no sympathy with the Fenian movement, the aims of which were not in harmony with British tendencies of thought.

Among the Irish workmen, however, the movement made considerable progress during 1865 on both sides of St. George's Channel. Depôts of arms were formed in Dublin and Cork, frequent musters of the initiated were held on fields and wastes, ostensibly for the purpose of playing at football, and drills by Irishmen who had served in the army of the United States took place in unfrequented places on moonlight nights.

Whispers went about from one to another, as these signs of preparation were observed, that the long deferred day of vengeance was near at hand, when an army of Irishmen would come from America commanded by Generals who had won fame and distinction in the suppression of the slave-owner's revolt, and sweep the Saxons into the sea.

But the inevitable spy and informer was already at work. Pierce Nagle, a man employed in the office of the *Irish People* as a folder, and who had been enrolled as a member of the Fenian Brotherhood at an early period of the movement, was the man. He had been in America during a part of 1864, and had made himself acquainted with the details of the organisation on both sides of the Atlantic. Believing that the plot was nearly ripe for execution, he made disclosures which prompted the assembling of the Irish Privy Council on the 15th of September, 1865, for the purpose of determining upon the measures to be adopted for its frustration, and for the capture and punishment of its authors and promoters. The Council deliberated until a late hour, and night came before warrants were prepared for the arrest of incriminated persons, and instructions flashed along the wires to the magistrates of Clonmel and Cork.

The requisite preparations having been made, a large body of police, armed with pistols, proceeded to the office of the *Irish People,* and another and smaller party to the house of Luby. The troops were at the same time held in readiness to support the police in the event of a tumult being excited, and rendering such aid necessary for the maintenance of order. No resistance was encountered by either party, however,

and the crowd that followed the police who escorted the prisoners arrested on the premises of the Fenian journal did not become dangerous, even when, as happened two or three times on the route, a suspected person was recognised by a detective, and made to take his place with the men already in custody. These comprised O'Donovan Rossa, Shaun O'Cleary and James Murphy, both on the literary staff of the paper; Thomas Ashe and Cornelius O'Mahony, reporters; James O'Connor, book-keeper; and four men employed in the office, of whom Pierce Nagle was one. Murphy protested against his arrest, on the ground of his being a citizen of the State of Massachusetts; but he was marched off with the rest. All the printing materials were seized, and carted away from the office, besides a file of the journal and a mass of letters and manuscripts.

The other party of police watched Luby's house until they saw two men from the office of the *Irish People*, named Ryan and O'Leary, approach it, and knock at the door; they then arrested both men, and on the door being opened by Luby, entered and arrested him. They then searched the house, and seized a revolver, a bullet-mould, and the document appointing Luby, Kickham, and O'Leary the executive committee of the Brotherhood in Ireland, during the absence of Stephens.

Between three and four o'clock on the following morning nearly twenty persons were arrested in their beds at Cork, and several others at Clonmel, Rathkeale, Killarney, and other places. These were all clerks, artisans, and shopkeepers' assistants. Other arrests followed within a few days. Charles Under-

wood O'Connell, a captain in the army of the United States, was arrested on landing at Queenstown from the mail steamer in which he had come from New York, and papers found in his possession which showed that he held a confidential position at the head-quarters of the Association; also two letters, signed *F. B. Muller*, introducing one Daly to Major-General Rosseau and Major Diffisy, "Centre of Wolfe Tone Circle, commanding 35th Indiana Volunteers," as a gentleman "connected with the present movement to restore the Irish nationality," and several military passes granted to the said Daly by officers of the Federal army for the purpose of communication with various regiments during the war.

Stephens was known to have returned to Ireland, and to have been moving from one town to another, enrolling members and disseminating the principles of the Brotherhood, under various names, assumed for the purpose of concealing his movements from the police. Being the Head Centre of the Association on this side of the Atlantic, and second in authority to John O'Mahony, his arrest was a matter of considerable importance to the Government; but for some time he eluded the utmost vigilance of the detectives. Large sums of money had been remitted to him from America, and he had been in communication with Luby and others since their arrest and commitment to Richmond gaol, through an attorney named Nolan; but his aliases and disguises baffled all the detectives, and his arrest was at last effected through information given by an informer.

Fairfield House, a commodious villa at Sandymount, a suburban village overlooking the Bay of Dublin,

had been occupied since July by a gentleman who had taken it in the name of Herbert, but who was said by the spy to be no other than the Fenian chief so eagerly sought by the police. Colonel Luke, chief of the constabulary, immediately proceeded to the locality, with thirty policemen, armed with pistols, and surrounded the house between five and six o'clock in the morning. Stephens at first refused to admit them, but ultimately obeyed the summons, and offered no resistance to his arrest. Kickham, and two other gentlemen, named Duffy and Brophy, were seized in their beds, and the house, which was handsomely furnished, subjected to a close search. Four revolvers were seized, and also several criminatory documents and letters, afterwards sworn to be in the handwriting of John O'Mahony, and a considerable sum of money. All the prisoners were well provided with money, one of them having forty-five pounds in gold in his possession, and another a cheque for a much larger amount.

Very little excitement had been caused by these arrests, either in Dublin or Cork, but shortly after the capture of Stephens two detectives who had taken part in them were shot as they were entering the Metropolitan Police-office, both receiving severe wounds. The shots were supposed to have been fired from the window of a house occupied by a tailor named Hopper, then in custody on suspicion of being implicated in the conspiracy. The perpetrator of the outrage could not, however, be discovered. The absence of excitement was probably due to the undoubted fact that both the Fenians and the well-affected portion of the people had the greatest

confidence, the former in their numbers and organisation, and the latter in the sufficiency of the measures adopted by the Government for the maintenance of order. Each side, therefore, was prepared to regard all that had happened as comparatively unimportant, and to await the end with calmness.

Profound sensation was created, however, by the discovery, on the morning of the 26th of November, that Stephens had escaped from the prison during the hours of darkness. At four o'clock that morning a man named Byrne, whose duty it was to perambulate the corridors of the prison during the night, awoke the governor with the startling announcement that the door of Stephens's cell was open, and the prisoner gone. On hastening to the cell, the governor found a duplicate key in the lock, and no other clue whatever to the manner in which the escape had been effected. Six other doors had been passed through, and it was evident that the prisoner must have had assistance within the prison. The Government immediately offered a reward of one thousand pounds for his recapture, and three hundred pounds for information that should lead to that much-desired event, with the royal pardon to any person who might have been concerned in the escape. The police immediately searched every house in which it was thought probable that the fugitive might have found a refuge, and scoured the roads leading from Dublin in every direction; but they never succeeded in getting on his track, and the large rewards offered for his reapprehension were never claimed.

A strict investigation of the mystery which surrounded his escape was made, but the only evidence

that threw any light upon it was the statement of a prisoner whose cell was between those occupied by Stephens and Kickham. A few minutes before the clock struck one this man heard footsteps coming up the stairs; then a key was turned, and immediately afterwards he heard the footsteps of two persons descending the stairs. The inquiry showed habitual laxity and negligence, and the governor was suspended from duty for some time, while Byrne, the watchman, having been found to be connected with the Fenian organisation, was lodged in prison.

The excitement created by the news of Stephens's escape was greatly increased by information given to the authorities by spies, to the effect that the rescue of the prisoners was to be attempted by means of a sudden attack, the plan of which was said to have been organised by Stephens before his escape. So much suspicion had been engendered by that event that the charge of the prison was given to the military and the police, fifty soldiers mounting guard outside the walls, and twenty-five constables patrolling the corridors. No attempt was made, however, and, as the Special Commission for the trial of the prisoners opened on the 27th, the excitement subsided, and the public interest was diverted to the conspiracy which the law officers of the Crown proceeded to expose.

Such of the leaders of the movement as were in custody were first brought to trial, Luby, O'Leary, O'Donovan Rossa, and Kickham being each tried separately, and the rank and file of the movement in batches, the judges proceeding from Dublin to Cork, and then returning to the former city, where they sat

far into the following year. The evidence of Nagle and the papers found in their possession were sufficient for the conviction of the accused; and Luby, O'Leary, and Kickham were sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude, O'Donovan Rossa (against whom two previous convictions for political offences were recorded) to penal servitude for life, O'Connell to ten years, and the rest to various periods of imprisonment, ranging from two to five years.

Stephens had, in the meantime, succeeded in reaching the coast of France, and thence proceeded to Paris, where he stayed some time, living in good style, and making no secret of his identity. Other Fenian Centres, both from Ireland and the United States, were in Paris at the same time; and it is probable that the traditions of the United Irishmen were not forgotten in the friendships which they formed with the Frenchmen who cherished the idea of a Republic. Among these was General Cluseret, who had served with some distinction in Italy and Mexico, and was regarded as a possible Hoche. An interview was arranged by their friends between Stephens and Cluseret, and the latter was so deeply impressed by the ability for organisation displayed by Stephens, and by the statements made to him as to the extent of the Fenian system, that he conceived an Irish revolution to be quite feasible. He calculated that the British Government could not, in less than three months from the outbreak of a rebellion in Ireland, bring into the field more than thirty thousand men; and that ten thousand armed insurgents would be able to seize and to hold the ports and communications. He saw that the Fenians were strong in men and money, and he argued

that only an able leader was required to insure the success of the movement. "Raise me ten thousand men, armed," said he, "and I will command them."

Stephens returned to New York, where, however, he was repudiated by the Brotherhood as a traitor, it being alleged that he had betrayed the cause to the Government, and by that means had obtained his liberation under the guise of an escape. Without knowing the grounds upon which this conclusion was arrived at, it is difficult to form an impartial judgment; but the charge is not supported by the facts that are known, and, in view of the tendency of the Irish to suspect their leaders of treachery, it may be regarded as unproven. The collapse of the conspiracy, and the disproportion of the results to the expenditure which had been incurred, tended at that time to render the Fenians suspicious and dissatisfied with the conduct of their leaders, and Stephens was not the only one whose reputation was thus clouded.

A committee was appointed to examine the accounts of the Association, and consider the conduct of the executive; and the results were far from satisfactory. "After a careful examination of the affairs of the Brotherhood," says the report, "your committee finds in almost every instance the cause of Ireland made subservient to individual gain; men who were lauded as patriots sought every opportunity to plunder the treasury of the Brotherhood, but legalised their attacks by securing the endorsement of John O'Mahony. . . . . In John O'Mahony's integrity the confidence of the Brotherhood was boundless, and the betrayal of that confidence, whether through incapacity or premeditation, is not for us to determine. . . . . Never

in the history of the Irish people did they repose so much confidence in their leaders; never before were they so basely deceived and treacherously dealt with. In fact, the Moffat Mansion was not only an almshouse for pauper officials and hungry adventurers, but a general telegraph-office for the Canadian authorities and Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister at Washington. These paid patriots and professional martyrs, not satisfied with emptying our treasury, connived at posting the English authorities in advance of our movements."

Though the expenditure at head-quarters during the three months preceding the date of the inquiry amounted to one hundred and four thousand dollars, and a sum even larger had been remitted during the same period to Stephens, then in Paris, there remained in the treasury one hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars. It was resolved, therefore, to make a vigorous effort to restore confidence, and, in the belief that the Canadians were disaffected, a raid was made into the Dominion on the 6th of June, 1866, but repulsed by the volunteers. The state of Ireland was so unsatisfactory to the Imperial Government, however, that the military force in that country was largely increased, the constabulary constantly employed in searching for concealed arms, the points thought likely to be attacked strongly guarded, and the coast watched by armed vessels.

Parliament seconded the Government by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and many arrests of disaffected persons and large seizures of arms were made in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other towns, and also aboard the steamers running between British and

Irish ports. Many Irishmen were arrested on their arrival at Queenstown from America, and arms and treasonable papers found on them. Rumours were in circulation towards the end of the year that the long-projected insurrection would commence on the 24th of December, and that Stephens was coming over to command the insurgent army; but the day passed without any movement taking place, and probably the rumour was circulated only for the purpose of sustaining the popular excitement. Early in the following year, however, some forty or fifty resolute men left New York for the purpose of attempting some bold enterprise, the news of which, if it was successful, was expected to set Ireland in a blaze. Coming to England, they separated into small parties, some going to London, and others to Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Glasgow. Cluseret, who had carefully formed the plan of the campaign, came to London, but, finding the centres disunited, and the Fenian body without arms or training, he abandoned the enterprise and returned to Paris, to figure a few years later as Minister of War in the Government of the Commune. Having discovered that Chester Castle was guarded by only half a dozen soldiers, and contained ten thousand rifles and nearly a million of cartridges, besides four thousand swords and a large quantity of powder in casks, an attack upon that place was resolved upon, and arrangements made which promised to be successful. At a meeting at Liverpool, on the 10th of February, it was resolved that the attempt should be made on the following night, and that if the arms and ammunition should be obtained, they should cut the telegraph wires, break

up the rails on the lines from Birkenhead, Shrewsbury, and Crewe, make a rush for Holyhead by the only line left open, and seize the mail steamer at the pier.

This promising enterprise was frustrated by the treachery of one of the ex-officers of the army of the United States, who formed an important element of the expedition. On the morning of the 11th this individual waited upon the chief constable at Liverpool, and revealed the plot, which was immediately communicated to the authorities in London and Chester. The magistrates of the latter city assembled in haste, organised a force of special constables, and obtained the aid of a company of infantry from Manchester, and as many of the county constabulary as could be spared. During the day every train from Birkenhead and Crewe brought into the town large numbers of Irish workmen, who strolled about the streets without any apparent purpose, until it was estimated that between fourteen and fifteen hundred had arrived. About six o'clock in the evening scouts sent out by the authorities reported that the Fenians were forming in columns on the roads near the city; but no attack was made, and in the course of the night the unwelcome strangers departed on foot in parties of from ten to twenty.

On the following day sixty-seven men were arrested on a steamer about to leave Dublin for Liverpool, and three rifles were found on the deck, others being supposed to have been thrown overboard on the appearance of the police. On the 13th about eight hundred Fenians surrounded the coastguard station at Cahirciveen, in Kerry, seized the arms, cut the telegraph wires, and shot a mounted constable who was carrying

despatches, taking his arms and his horse. They then proceeded to Killarney, but on the following day, troops having been sent there from Cork, they withdrew into the Toomies mountains through the picturesque Gap of Dunloe. Pursued by the troops, they dispersed on the 15th in all directions, most of them making their escape.

Many arrests were made during the next few days, chiefly of persons arriving at Dublin and Queenstown by steamer, and there seems no doubt that the intended surprise of Chester Castle and the outbreak in Kerry were parts of a comprehensive scheme of insurrection, which, owing to the precautions of the Government or the non-appearance of the expected leaders, could not be carried out. It was not abandoned, however, and in the following September two persons who had excited the suspicions of the Manchester police, and who, on being arrested, were found to have loaded revolvers in their pockets, proved, on the Irish police being communicated with, to be Irish officers of the army of the United States, Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasy. While on their way to the City Gaol in the police-van, however, they were rescued by a band of well-dressed men, all armed with new revolvers, who shot dead Sergeant Brett and the horses, wounded the driver and two of the constables forming the escort, and then dispersed. Allen, the man who shot the sergeant, and three more of the band, were run down and captured, and twenty-five others were arrested in the course of the day by the police and troops, who scoured the country around in search of the escaped prisoners, but without success.

Twenty-three of the prisoners were committed for

trial, and on the 27th of October a Special Commission was opened at Manchester, resulting in the condemnation of Allen and two others, Larkin and Gould, to the capital penalty, and most of the others to various terms of imprisonment. The executions took place on the 23rd of November, the accused undergoing their sentence with remarkable fortitude, regarding themselves as martyrs of their country's cause, and the acts for which they suffered as ordinary incidents of war. That they were so regarded by the mass of the Irish people was proved by the demonstrations which followed in Manchester, Dublin, and Cork, when between two and three thousand persons in the first-named city, and from fourteen to fifteen thousand in each of the others, all wearing green rosettes, formed processions, with banners emblazoned with the Fenian emblem and inscribed with patriotic mottoes, and bands playing the funeral march in *Saul* and the well-known *Adeste fidelis*.

Two other Fenian leaders, named Burke and Casey, were shortly afterwards arrested in London, and committed to Clerkenwell gaol, from which a desperate attempt was made to rescue them by blowing up the outer wall. The undertaking failed, but the explosion shattered many of the adjacent houses, killing four persons, and injuring about forty more. Two working men, named Desmond and Allen, and a woman named Justice, who had visited the accused during their detention, were arrested immediately, and three others, named English, Mullany, and O'Keefe, shortly afterwards. The author of the outrage proved, however, to be a man named Barrett, who was subsequently arrested at Glasgow, and removed to London for trial

with his subordinates. They were not tried until the following May, when Barrett was condemned to death, and hanged in Newgate, his accomplices (with the exception of Desmond, who was acquitted) being sentenced to various terms of penal servitude. Burke was convicted of complicity in the Fenian conspiracy, and sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude; but the prosecution of Casey was abandoned.

About a week after the Clerkenwell affair, the Martello tower at Fota, one of the minor defences of the Lee, was surprised on a dark night by a band of armed men, with blackened faces, who were supposed to have landed on the beach. Only two soldiers being in the tower, the marauders carried off the arms and ammunition, and then disappeared in the darkness. On the 31st, a more daring band, but consisting of eight men only, entered a gunsmith's shop in one of the principal streets of Cork in daylight, and carried off sixty revolvers and fifteen hundred cartridges, five of the party holding revolvers at the heads of the gunsmith and his assistants while their companions collected the plunder. No clue to the men concerned in these audacious enterprises was ever obtained by the police.

These exploits were, however, the expiring beams of the Fenian "sun-burst" on this hemisphere. The executive reverted to the original plan of an incursion into Canada, from which country, when revolutionised, a descent could be made, it was thought, upon Ireland more advantageously than from the ports of the United States. Accordingly, on the 25th of May, 1870, two hundred Fenians crossed the frontier near

Franklyn, from Vermont, under the command of General O'Neill, and advanced upon Williamstown, where they were met and repulsed by a battalion of Canadian volunteers and a company of regular infantry, commanded by General Lindsay.

The Government of the United States had received early warning of the movement, and General Meade started from Philadelphia on the same day with Federal troops, who confronted the Fenians in their retreat across the border, and compelled them to surrender. Two days later another body of Fenians crossed the frontier near Malone, under the direction of a leader named Gleeson; but they were repulsed as readily as the others, and driven back upon the Federal forces, which surrounded and disarmed them. O'Neill, Gleeson, and others were tried and convicted by an American tribunal, but, being recommended to mercy, the sentences passed upon them were remitted.

The British Government had, in the meantime, granted an amnesty, on the condition of the convicted men undertaking to leave the country, and never return to any part of the United Kingdom. O'Donovan proceeded to New York, and became the chief director of the movement, which was then, however, almost extinct. In the following summer a small body of Fenians made a raid into Manitoba from Minnesota, hoping to revive the revolt of that territory; but, being followed by Federal troops, they surrendered without having fired a shot, or attempted any hostile act. The leaders were arrested, but, there being no evidence of illegal acts committed within the juris-

diction of the United States, they were released. O'Donovan Rossa afterwards retired from the movement, and exchanged the strife of politics for the more solid gains of the wine trade; and the Fenian organisation, deserted by its ablest leaders, while its funds were exhausted and the rank and file discouraged by failure, subsided into insignificance.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NIHILISTS.

THE secret Society which, during the last few years, has spread its ramifications over the greater part of Russia on this side of the Ural range is, like the religious societies commonly denominated Quakers, Moravians, Shakers, and Mormons, not known to the outer world by the name which distinguishes it in the lodges of the initiated. The designation applied to its members by M. Turguenief in the novel of "Fathers and Sons," and the appropriateness of which seemed to be shown by the declaration of its principles which was produced on the trial of Cherkésoff and others in 1871, has been generally adopted, however, in the absence of better authenticated information.

It was known, nearly thirty years ago, to those who are in the way of learning the direction of the under-currents of opinion, that the general principles of Socialism, without the distinctive formulas of any of the schools of societary science, had begun to be disseminated among the masses of the Russian population, not yet emancipated from serfdom, but just beginning to think, and to dream of something far beyond that condition. There were a few Russians in the Polish section of the Fraternal Democrats at

that time, and, though the Russian police and customs' officers make vigorous searches for prohibited publications among the luggage of persons arriving from foreign countries, their almost universal accessibility to corrupt influences rendered the exclusion of such publications, difficult everywhere, there impracticable.

Nearly twenty years ago, I was informed of an instance in which, while one Englishman, on landing at St. Petersburg, had his Murray confiscated, another was allowed to retain a copy of Paine's works. An organisation for the purpose of introducing into Russia publications prohibited by the censorship is not likely, in such a state of things, to experience much difficulty; and no surprise can be felt, therefore, at the extent to which such publications have of late years been introduced into Russia from London and Geneva, and the circulation of the *Kolokol* and *Vpered* in that country, in spite of the interdict of the Government.

The Society known as the Nihilists has been in existence several years. It originated in the spring of 1869 with a gentleman named Netchaief, who had adopted the views of social organisation which have found expression in the works of Proudhon and the Abbé Constant, and found able and earnest fellow-workers in their dissemination in Dolgoff, Orloff, and Ikatscheff, all young men, and members of the most educated section of Muscovite society.

The right of association and the freedom of the press being non-existent in Russia, a secret organisation affords in that country the only means by which novel principles, whether political, religious, or social, can be promulgated; and Netchaief proceeded, there-

fore, to devise a secret system of propagandism, and to attract to it many of the students of the Petrofsky University.

The principles of the Society have been somewhat hazily set forth by the writers in the Nihilist journal, *Vpered* (Onward), but they evidently tend to the reconstruction of government and society on the broadest basis. The statement read before the Moscow commission, and which is quoted by Mr. Heckethorn,* bears, however, the impress of concoction by the agents of the secret police. The founders and organisers of secret societies do not declare their object to be the destruction of society and the establishment of a state of political anarchy and social chaos Such ideas could occur only to the mind of a conservator of the established order of things whose intelligence and judgment were very unequal to his zeal.

Whatever its precise objects were announced to be, the Society obtained numerous affiliations among all classes of the people, and spread its ramifications from Moscow to all the towns of the southern provinces. Addresses "from the United to the Isolated" were widely circulated, and groups of the initiated formed among the students of the colleges, the soldiers of the garrisons, the artisans of the towns, and the peasants of the rural districts. Wherever five members were initiated a circle was formed, and a certain number of such groups formed a section. The direction of the Society was vested in a committee, to which judicial functions were assigned, extending, it is said, even to the infliction of the capital penalty. The whole of

* Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries.

the Society's proceedings were conducted with the most profound secrecy. All communications in writing were made in a peculiar cipher; each circle was isolated, so that each member knew only the Nihilists composing the circle to which he belonged; in all the correspondence numbers were substituted for names, and the members of the committee were known only to each other.

There came to be a division of opinion among the leaders, when the organisation had taken root, as to the means by which the end which they had in view should be brought about, Orloff and Ikatscheff being disposed to await the results of the gradual propagation of their ideas among the people, while Netchaief preferred the shorter cut of revolution by physical force. The latter won over his coadjutors to the adoption of his views; but, before the plot was ripe for execution, some of the peculiarities of personal appearance affected by the initiated, such as short hair and short rough coats, attracted the attention of the authorities, and the police found it necessary to make discoveries concerning them. Dolgoff, who held a position in the Society second only to that of Netchaief, was arrested, with Prince Cherkésoff, who had supplied the funds for the agitation, and the son of a military officer named Rippona. Other arrests were made among the students of the Petrofsky University, and a Special Commission was opened at Moscow for the trial of the accused.

All the prisoners were convicted, but, as no acts of treason could be proved against them, sentences were passed that were considered lenient, Prince Cherkésoff being deprived of his civil rights and his privileges as

a member of the nobility, and banished to Siberia for five years, while the rest were condemned to various periods of imprisonment, ranging from three weeks to eighteen months.

This investigation and its results caused a temporary lull in the Nihilist agitation, but it was soon resumed, and the movement spread by degrees to the shores of the Baltic. While affiliating to the Society those whom they found prepared to accept its principles, its directors sowed broadcast among the working-classes small publications of a kind specially adapted to their understanding and literary requirements, and thus prepared the ground for farther progress. These publications were not political and metaphysical disquisitions, such as would be addressed to the same classes in England, France, or Germany, but stories of social and political wrong and injustice, which were imported in large numbers, and, bearing the announcement, "Allowed by the Censorship," were, for a long time, sold openly, without attracting the attention of the authorities.

The most popular of these productions, which have been printed at Geneva, relates the troubles of four brothers who have lived from infancy in the midst of a forest, in ignorance of the world beyond its borders. One day they climb a hill, and see villages and cultivated fields; and, conceiving the idea that they would be happier in the society of their fellow-men than in isolation and solitude, they leave the forest to explore the unknown world beyond. Every peasant whom they meet warns them that they will find only poverty and trouble, but they go on, and pursue the quest of social happiness until they are arrested as

troublesome fellows, and sent off to Siberia. Throughout the story there are constant attacks on the existing order of things in Russia, the object being to show that the poor are oppressed by the rich, deceived by the priests, and plundered by the tax-gatherer.

Another is an adaptation of the "Histoire d'un Paysan" of MM. Erckmann and Chatrian, replete with eulogia of Robespierre and Marat, denunciations of the rich, and glowing pictures of the moral and material ameliorations which would result from a sweeping revolution, political and social. For readers more educated, the Nihilist propaganda provides well-written narratives of the rebellion of Pougatcheff and the conspiracy of the United Sclavonians. For those of all classes who are vocally inclined, there is a collection of songs of a revolutionary and Communistic tendency.

During the autumn of 1874, printed incitements to revolt were extensively circulated throughout the country, and some of them got into the hands of persons for whom they were not intended. About the same time, certain letters and documents came under the notice of M. Zhikhareff, the procurator of the supreme tribunal of Saratov, in the course of judicial proceedings entirely foreign to the Nihilist agitation, and created in the mind of that functionary suspicion of a plot. With the assistance of M. Davidoff, Juge d'Instruction at Tambov, he proceeded to investigate the matter, and soon obtained a clue to a widespread conspiracy, which had for its object the destruction of the existing political and social system, and the reconstruction of government

and society on the lines laid down by the Communists.

So deeply impressed are the conservators of order on the Continent with the idea that the International and the Revolution are synonymous terms that MM. Zhikhareff and Davidoff at once jumped to the conclusion that the central committee of the International Association of Workmen were the authors of the plot; but the further prosecution of the inquiry and the arrest of the incriminated persons dispelled that idea, and showed the conspiracy to be the work of the Nihilists. On the first report of M. Zhikhareff to the Government, General Sleskin, the chief of the Moscow gendarmerie, was invested with the powers of a governor-general to make arrests; and he proceeded to exercise them with so much zeal and promptitude, and probably with so little regard to the guilt or innocence of the persons whom he swept from their homes, that several hundreds were arrested in the course of a week, chiefly in the towns of Saratov, Samara, Yaroslav, Tambov, and Penza, and the neighbouring villages and hamlets, and a much larger number placed under the surveillance of the police.

A commission was appointed at Moscow for the further investigation of the affair, and M. Zhikhareff was placed at its head. The persons first arrested were principally artisans and peasants, and it was thought that the workmen's associations for mutual aid might have been instrumental in diffusing revolutionary ideas among the labouring classes. Several of those institutions were in consequence closed; but, as the investigation proceeded, evidence was obtained

which implicated many persons of superior education and social position, and among these a large proportion were officials of the judicial and police departments. The more prominent of the accused were Professor Dakhovsky, of the Yaroslav College of Law, and M. Khovanko, president of the general session of the magistrates of Tchernigoff. Besides these, there were among the arrested many superintendents of the rural police and mediators of the peace—officers appointed under the decree for the emancipation of the serfs. Among others who fell under suspicion, and whose houses were searched by the police, but who were not arrested, were the President of the Supreme Tribunal of Kazan and the Procurator of Orenburg, suspicion having been directed against the latter by his having carried some Nihilist manifestoes to that town without, it seems, knowing what they were.

So numerous were the arrests during November that M. Zhikhareff said, early in the following month, in speaking of the labours of the Moscow commission, that so many persons were already in custody that, if the trial of each occupied only one day, the proceedings would last a year. He suggested, therefore, that the accused should be tried in batches. The preliminary investigation was not concluded, however, until the end of June, 1875, when the Minister of Justice made a secret report to the Czar on the affair, and the Minister of Public Instruction issued a circular in reference thereto, announcing that thirty-seven provinces were infected with Nihilism, and directing the teachers of schools to warn their pupils against so dangerous and subversive a system. The publication of this circular created a great sensation, as the facts

of the conspiracy had been officially denied by the Government when they first oozed out, and the journals had been forbidden to give publicity to them.

The extension of the Nihilist propaganda to St. Petersburg was unknown to the police when the Moscow commission commenced its labours, though a letter from the former city, written at that time, states that "shortly after General Potapoff succeeded Count Schouvaloff in the direction of the secret police, there was a considerable stir among the Nihilists of the capital, which caused a gentleman here, who is acquainted with many of them, to remark that he should not be surprised to hear of strange events before long. Soon afterwards we heard of the arrests in the south. Here, however, the Nihilists seemed to be as much surprised as anybody else, and, though many of their houses have been searched by the police, no arrests have been made. There is, indeed, a strong and very general disposition here to pooh-pooh the affair, some expressing the opinion that the arrests are due to the desire of General Potapoff to show how clean a new broom can sweep, and others that the secret police have got up the alleged conspiracy with a view to the return to power of Count Schouvaloff."

Though whatever movement of a revolutionary character, if any at all, was designed by the Nihilists was prevented by the number of arrests which had been made and the sudden vigilance and activity of the police, the propaganda went on as before, and arrangements were made for printing a journal in London, the *Vpered*, and its secret introduction and circulation in Russia. The Nihilists of St. Petersburg, emboldened by impunity, worked with increased

activity. Two students of the university, youths of twenty, both sons of priests, named Diakof and Siriakof, made themselves acquainted, under assumed names, with several of the workmen engaged in a factory, and visited them frequently at their lodgings, where they read and commented upon the story of the four brothers, the adapted translation of the "Histoire d'un Paysan," and the narrative of the rebellion of Pougatcheff. Two peasants joined in these readings, and assisted the workmen in circulating the books among their friends.

In the same way, Diakof and Siriakof contrived to introduce the books into the barracks of the Moscow regiment of the Imperial Guards, and especially among the bandsmen. A peasant was employed at the same time in circulating the books among the inhabitants of the villages in the vicinity of the capital. Unfortunately for the propagandists, some of their hearers were in the pay of the secret police, and, while professing great interest in the readings and assisting in the circulation of the forbidden books, they communicated to the authorities what was going on. Diakof and Siriakof were thereupon arrested, together with two other students, named Yeltsof and Viatcheslavof, the two peasants who had assisted in circulating the books among the workmen at the Tchesher factory, and two privates of the Moscow regiment—all charged with circulating seditious publications and inciting the subjects of the Czar to rebellion.

As there was no apparent connexion between the Nihilist propaganda in St. Petersburg and the con-

spiracy which formed the subject of the investigation still proceeding at Moscow, it was determined to make the affair of the students the matter of a separate inquiry. No documents were found in the possession of the accused to indicate affiliation to the Nihilist Association, but copies of the books which have been mentioned were seized by the police, and also the Nihilist song-book, and an article of a revolutionary tendency from the *Vpered* on the distress prevailing in the neighbourhood of Samara.

Diakof stated, at the preliminary investigation, that he had read the books to the workmen for the purpose of explaining to them social and economical theories; and he denied having said, as was alleged by agents of the secret police, that the Czar was the source of all the evils that afflict society, adding to the denial the expression of the opinion that the Czar is often restrained by his counsellors from carrying out his designs for the welfare of the people. He instanced the reforms which Alexander I. wished to introduce, and which were frustrated by the opposition of the nobility. Siriakof said that his desire to become acquainted with the workmen arose from his reflections on the present structure of government and society in Russia, by which the lives of the working classes are rendered almost unendurable. He added that, knowing how sad was the condition of those classes, he thought it his duty to show them that they could emerge from it only through a social revolution.

They were brought to trial in August, when Diakof and Siriakof refused to defend themselves, on the ground that it was impossible to do so with self-

respect when three agents of the secret police had given evidence against them. All the accused were convicted, and Diakof and Siriakof were condemned to deprivation of civil rights and hard labour in a Siberian fortress, the former for ten years, the latter for six. The two peasants were condemned to the like penalty for nine years. The third peasant had contrived to elude the vigilance of the police. The two soldiers, who protested that they were ignorant of the illegal character of the books, lost all their advantages of service, and were sentenced to imprisonment for nine and twelve months respectively. Yeltsof and Viatcheslavof were indicted only for having had the forbidden books in their possession, and not reporting the matter to the police; but it was clearly proved that Diakof had taken a parcel into Yeltsof's room during his absence, and asked Viatcheslavof if it could remain there for a time. It was placed in a drawer, and its contents were not known until some time afterwards. Yeltsof was imprisoned, however, for ten days, and Viatcheslavof for six days.

The results of the prosecution of the seven hundred and eighty persons indicted upon the report of the Moscow commission are not yet known; but, whatever they may be, they must be less important than the fact that the Nihilist agitation is still going on, that the journal of the movement continues to be issued from London, and that the Government can suggest no remedy for the evil, apart from the terrors of the law, more efficient than a larger amount of religious and moral teaching, and more careful supervision of the studies and occupations of the young.

The history of the last hundred years might have taught the Czar and his Ministers that the only remedy that can be relied upon to effect the cure of the evil is to be found in representative government, with a free press, freedom of speech, and the right of association.

CHAPTER XX.

THE OMLADINA.

DURING the agitation of the Sclavonic population of the principalities and provinces bordering on the lower waters of the Danube by the recent insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the intelligence flashed to the capitals of Europe by the telegraph on several occasions brought under observation the proceedings of a secret association having its headquarters at Belgrade, and known as the Omladina. The information concerning the organisation of this Society which is as yet available is very scanty; but its object is known to be the establishment of a Republican Pan-Sclavonic Confederation. The idea from which it has sprung is not a new one; and, though the Society may have been in existence long before its name began to appear in Reuter's telegrams, it is probable that its founders did not form the primary conception of the idea, so far as the political unity of the Sclavonic race is concerned.

We have seen, in the history of the United Sclavonians, how the idea upon which the Omladina is based, found expression, half a century ago, among the more advanced minds of Russia; but the political horizon was much more contracted at that time than it must appear at the present day, when Sadowa and

Sedan have done so much for the realisation of the dreams, as they were once deemed, of Young Germany and Young Italy. The vision of the Pan-Sclavonic enthusiast now extends beyond the Carpathians, and embraces the kindred populations of regions subject or tributary to the Sultan and the Kaiser. The late Czar was credited, more than thirty years ago, with the design of uniting all the Sclavonic nations under the hegemony, or at least the protection, of Russia; but, though ambition may have prompted the idea, or the revolt of 1825 have suggested it as a means of taking the wind out of the sails of the revolutionary party, he must soon have been convinced of its impracticability. Suspected alike by the Russian Liberals and the Poles, he could only strive to assimilate, by arbitrary means, the institutions of Poland to those of Russia, and to substitute his own authority, in the Greek Church, for that of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Both schemes tended only to increase his unpopularity. The mantle of Pestel would not sit gracefully on the shoulders of a Romanoff, and the Pan-Sclavonic idea could not be realised.

It need scarcely be said that the views of Nicholas are not those of the Omladina. That Association is of a thoroughly revolutionary character, and menaces alike the Czar, the Kaiser, and the Sultan, as well as the minor potentates of Servia and Montenegro. Its immediate aim is the severance of the link by which Servia is bound to the Porte, and to that end it would aid, to the utmost of its power and influence, any and every insurrection of the Sclavonic subjects of the Sultan, whether in Bosnia, Herzegovina, or Bulgaria. But its ulterior objects are

much more extensive, and embrace not only the liberation of all the Sclavonic nations from their present rulers, but the formation of a league of Sclavonic Republics out of the débris made by war and revolution.

Though the precise date of the origin of the Omladina is unknown, there is little doubt that it was in existence prior to the abortive scheme by which a rising was to have been effected seven or eight years ago in Herzegovina, by the aid of Italian sympathisers, the direction of the revolutionary forces being confided to a Polish General of undoubted capacity and courage. The present insurrection in that region was concerted upon the same plan, and with the same external aid, but with a more careful avoidance of offence to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The ranks of the insurgents were largely reinforced by Servians and Montenegrins, and all the influence of the Omladina was exerted to induce both Prince Milan and Prince Nikita to declare war against Turkey, and march their forces into Bosnia and Bulgaria.

Though the head-quarters of the Society are at Belgrade, and its greatest strength is in Servia, it has agents actively at work in the neighbouring provinces of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, as well as in Montenegro and Roumania, and in some of them it has extensive affiliations. Belgrade is well situated for the centre of such an organisation, being separated only by the Danube from the Sclavonic dominions of the Kaiser, and having direct communication by road and river with the principal cities of

both empires. That the Omladina has there become a great force, whether for good or for evil, has been shown equally by the pressure which it has exerted upon Prince Milan, and by the evident inability or unwillingness of the Servian Government to adopt measures for its suppression. It was doubtful, even when the militia was called out, whether the influence of the Omladina would not prove greater than that of Russia, and war with Turkey be precipitated, contrary to the counsels of Prince Gortschakoff, before the three Emperors were agreed as to the course to be adopted.

The deposition of the Sultan Abdul Aziz, which disarranged the scheme of General Ignatieff for the disruption of the Ottoman Empire, did not affect the views of the Omladina. It was nothing to the directors of that Association that Austria and Germany were glad of an excuse for moving no farther in company with Russia, and that Russia was not prepared to move alone. It is their policy to prevent Servia from becoming a mere agency of Russia for the furtherance of her designs upon Turkey, and to force the hands of both Russia and Austria. They were as urgent as before with Prince Milan, therefore, judging that the first encounter between Servians and Turks, however it resulted, would oblige both Alexander and Francis Joseph, through the sympathies of their Sclavonian subjects, to take the field against the latter, however strenuously they might represent to the Servian Government, while the peace remained unbroken, that they could not protect Servia if she became the aggressor.

Prince Milan would willingly have deferred hostilities until a time came which Prince Gortschakoff might deem more propitious for the realisation of Russian aims; but he was urged onward by the chiefs of the Omladina, and impressed by them with the idea that the only alternative of war was his deposition, and the proclamation of a Republic. They were not influenced by any of the motives which weighed with Prince Gortschakoff and Count Andrassy, and thought no time could be more propitious for their own aims than the present, when the sympathies of all the Sclavonic nations were aroused in favour of their enterprise, and were evinced in the form of considerable contributions of money, collected by their agents in Russia, Roumania, Transylvania, Sclavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia.

Before Prince Milan could be induced to declare war, however, an insurrectionary movement was prepared in the south-west districts of Bulgaria, and the adjacent portions of Roumelia, east of the Despoto Dagh. The incitement to revolt is attributed, both by Mr. Baring and by Edib Effendi, to a committee of Bulgarian refugees, said to have been formed at Bucharest in 1862; but there can be no doubt that this committee, if not actually a branch of the Omladina, is acting in concert with that Society. Mr. Baring states that the Bucharest committee was constituted "for the purpose of fomenting insurrection in Bulgaria, and of wresting that rich province from the hands of the Turks, to add it to the great South Slavic Empire, which schemers in Moscow and elsewhere have decided shall be built up on the ruins of

the Austrian and Ottoman Empires."* The objects of the Bucharest Committee are, therefore, so far as they go, those of the Omladina; and it is certain that the leaders of the Bulgarian revolt were in communication with the chiefs of that Society just before the rising which provoked such terrible measures of repression on the part of the local Ottoman authorities.

The Bucharest Committee had been five years in existence when the Candiote insurrection led its members to consider the time opportune for an attempt to excite an outbreak in Bulgaria, and emissaries were sent across the Danube for that purpose. Revolutionary ideas had, however, made very little progress among the Bulgarians, who are a much more stolid race than either the pure Sclaves or the Greeks; and had besides little ground for complaint of the manner in which they were governed. The attempt failed, therefore, and, though the Omladinist propaganda was steadily continued on both sides of the Balkans, no movement was made until the revolt in Herzegovina commenced. Great exertions were then made to foment an insurrection in Bulgaria and Roumelia, where considerable discontent had been created by the recent increase of taxation, which the necessities of the Ottoman Government had rendered inevitable. A tumult at Eski-Zaghra, in October, was the sole fruit of those machinations, and it was quelled without difficulty

* Report on the Bulgarian Insurrection of 1876. Supplement to the London Gazette of Sept. 19th, 1876.

by the local authorities, all who had been concerned in it hastening, as soon as the effervesence had subsided, to betray their neighbours.

Early in March, 1876, arrangements were made, however, for preparing a revolt throughout Bulgaria and Roumelia. Two of the principal actors in this movement were a priest named Hariton and one Hilarion, a native of Rustchuk, but lately a resident at Odessa, who, however, entered Bulgaria with a Servian passport, showing that he had recently been in Belgrade.* These two men organised the insurrection in Bulgaria, while the direction of the movement in Roumelia was entrusted to leaders named Benkowsky, Vankoff, and Betkofski. Their instructions were to organise committees of ten members in the towns, and of four in the villages, a condition being made as regards the latter that the priest and the schoolmaster—men of influence in those little rural communities—should be of the number. When these committees had been formed, they began to collect money for the purpose of providing arms and ammunition, orders for which were sent to Constantinople and Bucharest, but for various reasons were not executed. The conspirators had, therefore, to be content with such old-fashioned and inferior weapons as they could collect in the towns and villages of the two provinces.

On the 22nd of March, one of the emissaries from

* Report of Mr. Schuyler, Secretary of the United States Legation at Constantinople, and Prince Tsereteleff, Second Secretary of the Russian Embassy at Constantinople, on the State of Bulgaria. Printed for private circulation only.

Belgrade and Bucharest was arrested at Sofia, but he did not reveal the plan of the insurrection. On the 31st, a council of the conspirators was held at Panagurishta, where eighty members were present, under the presidency of Benkowsky. It was then resolved that the insurrection should commence on both sides of the Balkans on the 13th of May, when bands of incendiaries were to fire Adrianople, Philippopolis, Bazardjik, Sofia, Tchtiman, and Isladi, and all the villages in and about the defiles of the Balkans, the position of which might be disadvantageous to the insurrection. On seeing these conflagrations, the initiated were to raise the Christian inhabitants in revolt, destroy the railway bridge at Ouzoun Keupni and the rolling stock at Saremberg, take up the rails at other places, cut the telegraph wires, seize the Government stores at Bazardjik, occupy certain important points, such as Avrat Alan, Kalofer, and Tchoukourlou, and commence a general pillage and massacre of the Mahomedans. Copies of these resolutions were sent to all the committees, and special emissaries proceeded at the same time to Sofia and Adrianople.

On the 1st of May, however, one Nenko betrayed the plot to the Kaimakam of Bazardjik, who immediately communicated the discovery to Aziz Pacha, the Mutessarif (or governor) of Philippopolis. Officers were promptly despatched to the former town to arrest the persons implicated in the conspiracy, and Aziz Pacha proceeded there immediately afterwards, with a small escort of cavalry. Benkowsky had, in the meantime, discovered Nenko's treachery,

and convened a meeting at Metzka, at which it was resolved to precipitate the outbreak, and raise the country without loss of time. In obedience to his orders, the initiated raised the Christians of Panagurishta and Avrat Alan, who killed all the Mahomedans they could surprise, and constructed some rough barricades and entrenchments. Small bands of insurgents visited Yenikeui and other villages, marching with a green flag before them, on which a gold cross was emblazoned; and induced the inhabitants to join them by stating that the Mahomedans had projected a general massacre of the Christians, and that a Russian army had crossed the Danube. The village of Zindjirli was burned, after being abandoned by the inhabitants, and also the village of Streldja, partially occupied by Mahomedans, and four small Turkish villages forming what was known as the Yourouk Mahallin. A large number of men from the neighbouring villages hastened to Avrat Alan and Panagurishta, and some slight preparations for resistance to Ottoman rule were made at Bratzegovo, Klissoura, and Peroustitza.

Benkowsky hurried from Metzka to Bellova, where he incited a rising by announcing that the revolt was general, and that twelve thousand insurgents were marching to attack Bazardjik. There were only six soldiers in the place, and the insurgents massacred them, burned the railway station, and cut the telegraph wires. This or another body of the insurgents also burned the Mahomedan village of Palenka, cut the telegraph wires at Vetren, a village on the high road from Bazardjik to Sofia, and fired on the post-

courier and some soldiers who were escorting the harem of Hassan Pacha. Aziz Pacha had in the meantime left Bazardjik for Panagurishta, accompanied by some Mahomedan notables, and about a hundred soldiers. This movement created some alarm, and when, later in the day, a report was spread that the Mutessarif was surrounded by the insurgents, a general panic ensued; the shops were closed, the villagers who had brought into the town the produce of their fields and gardens fled in haste, leaving their carts and goods in the market-place, and Mahomedan women ran about the streets in the wildest excitement. The Moslem inhabitants immediately flew to arms, and the position of the Christians became critical.

Aziz Pacha had not been surrounded, however, but deemed it advisable to return to Bazardjik, owing to the state of the country, in order to concert the measures which the gravity of the situation seemed to require.* The arrival of four hundred regular troops by railway calmed the fears of the Mahomedans, and allayed the excitement; and Aziz Pacha then returned to Philippopolis. There also great excitement had been produced, both among Mahomedans and Christians; and it was increased by the bursting out of conflagrations in several parts of the town at the same time, and the approach of a body of the insurgents, who endeavoured to spike the signal-gun mounted on a neighbouring eminence. The guard had been

* Report of Edib Effendi, Commissioner Extraordinary of the Sublime Porte, upon the State of the Vilayet of Adrianople.

doubled, however, and they were beaten off. Warned by the signal-gun, some hastily-organised bands of volunteers mustered for the defence of the town, and the flames were extinguished before much damage had been done. The Vali of Adrianople, on being telegraphed to by some Mahomedan notables, replied that they must arm and defend themselves as well as they could, and sent Raschid Pacha to command them. For several days a state of anarchy and terror prevailed, and the most shocking outrages were committed by the barbarous irregulars, to whom the suppression of the insurrection was unavoidably committed until regular troops arrived in the disturbed districts.

On the 7th, Hassan Pacha marched into Vetren from Nisch, made numerous arrests, and burned nearly a third of the village. He then proceeded through Bazardjik to Bratzegovo, where desultory skirmishing had been going on for several days between the insurgents and the irregulars (Bashi-Bazouks), and about fifty houses had been burned. On the appearance of the regular troops, the insurgents laid down their arms, and about fifty of them were marched off to prison. Achmet Agha, of Dorpat, had in the meantime collected four or five hundred Bashi-Bazouks, and marched with them against Batak, where the insurgents had seized and murdered several travelling merchants of the Mahomedan faith, and also seized the son of a Turkish official, who had entered the village to inquire into the reports of those crimes, and who only escaped death by the interposition of a Bulgarian notable. The insurgents

had entrenched themselves, and received the troops with a warm though irregular fire of musketry; but the latter, after exchanging a few volleys, carried the village by storm, driving the rebels before them, and cutting down without mercy all whom they could reach. Many of the latter established themselves in a church, whence they kept up a galling fire upon the assailants. The latter then set fire to some wooden buildings surrounding the church, from which the insurgents were at length forced to sally out, and fight for their lives. Many were slain on both sides; but the assailants gained the mastery, and those of the insurgents who were not killed or severely wounded fled from the village, which was then committed to the flames.

At Boyadjik-keui the disaffected peasants had raised entrenchments, and refused to allow Mahomedans to pass through the village; and, on Hachem Effendi, the Kaimakam of Zamboli, proceeding thither to investigate the state of affairs, accompanied by a few soldiers, he was refused admission. The commander of the military division of Islimie thereupon marched against the place with a battalion of regulars and some volunteers. When he arrived before the village some old men came out to parley with him, apparently for the purpose of gaining time for the insurgents, for they retired precipitately from the conference, and a heavy fire was immediately opened upon the troops. The order to attack was then given, and a sanguinary conflict ensued, which ended with the defeat and flight of the insurgents, who left between seventy and eighty of their number among the slain, the

village in flames, and their cattle in the possession of the victors.

Hafiz Pacha, who commanded the regulars who first reached Bazardjik, marched upon Panagurishta on receiving reinforcements from Constantinople, and reduced to obedience the insurgents who had assembled at that place without the smallest difficulty. On the following day, the 13th, Raschid Pacha reached Peroustitza from Philippopolis, and, dispersing the insurgents with a single volley, entered the village, and burnt it to the ground. Some skirmishes ensued between the troops and the bands of insurgents driven from the villages, and then the insurrection was at an end. In one of these, near Orhanie, Betkofski was slain, and a copy of the resolutions of the revolutionary council was found upon his body, which fell into the hands of the troops.

In Bulgaria the rising was insignificant, even as compared with the movement in Roumelia. The peasants did not rise so promptly as in the villages south of the Balkans, and their revolt was suppressed with even less difficulty. A small band assembled near Tirnovo under the leadership of the ex-priest Hariton; but, on the approach of some regular troops and Mahomedan volunteers, fled into the mountains, and took refuge in the monastery of St. Michael, near Drenova. There they were surrounded on the 11th of May, and on the arrival of Fazly Pacha from Shumla with two guns the monastery was cannonaded. Some of the insurgents escaped under cover of the night, aided by a thick fall of snow; and the remainder marched out at daybreak without their arms,

and with a white flag before them. They were immediately surrounded by the assailants, who massacred the whole of them, and afterwards plundered the monastery, which was also partially destroyed by fire.

Another band, consisting of about thirty men, assembled near Gabrova, and was led by Tzanko Dustaban, an educated inhabitant of the town. After attacking unsuccessfully a military post on the road to Shipka these men proceeded to Novo Selo, but on the approach of a company of Bashi-Bazouks, led by Deli Nedjib, the Kaimakam of Plevov, they fled into the mountains, accompanied by most of the villagers. On the 21st Novo Selo was pillaged and burned by the Bashi-Bazouks, who afterwards pursued the insurgents into the mountains, massacred some hundreds of them, including many women and children, and dispersed the rest. Hilarion had in the meantime formed a band near Slivno, but was surrounded in the mountains on the 19th by three hundred regulars and some Bashi-Bazouks, who had been raised in the neighbouring villages. After a short resistance the insurgents surrendered, and thirty-five of them were marched with their arms bound into Slivno, where several were subsequently decapitated. Terrible excesses and barbarities are said to have been committed in this district, and also in some of the Roumelian villages, after the revolt had been suppressed, according to the precedents established in similar cases by the Russians in Poland and the Austrian and Pontifical troops in Italy.

In Herzegovina, the Omladina had succeeded in

awakening the spirit of revolt among only a very few of the people, and the insurrection had been kept alive by the flocking to the disturbed districts of Omladinists from Servia, Montenegro, and Dalmatia, aided by Italian and Greek sympathisers. It merely maintained a languishing existence in the southern districts, and even the Montenegrin invasion did not spread the flame. In another quarter, the Omladina received a blow in the arrest, by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, of M. Miletich, a member of the Diet, and the chief of the Hungarian section of the Society, who, with several other Austro-Hungarian Sclaves, also members of that organisation, were apprehended at Neusatz, a town in Hungary, on the 5th of July. At the house of M. Miletich several letters were found, implicating other persons, and showing that there had been a correspondence with M. Ristics, the Prime Minister of Servia, and an offer of men and money from the Austro-Hungarian Omladinists for the impending struggle with the Porte.

The end of that struggle has not arrived, and may be long in coming. General Ignatieff and the Omladina have alike failed to arouse the Sclavonic subjects of the Sultan to more than partial efforts; and even the Servians, though led by a Russian general of experience and skill, were speedily compelled to retire before their better disciplined and more numerous foes. Foreign aid has been withheld from them, owing to the impossibility of reconciling the policy of Count Andrassy with that of Prince Gortschakoff; while the views held both at Vienna and St. Petersburg are as

hostile to the project enunciated by Mr. Gladstone as are those entertained at Constantinople. The Russian Government would not like to see the realisation of the dream of Peter the Great frustrated by a Sclavonic Confederation south of the Danube; and the Austro-Hungarian Government, whether directed by a German or a Magyar, will not sanction political arrangements which would be an example and an incentive to the millions of Sclaves within their own frontiers.

There can be no doubt, however, that the dream of a Sclavonic Confederation will some day be realised, and that day may not be far distant; though the precise manner in which the new political edifice is likely to be raised is not foreshadowed in the pamphlet of Mr. Gladstone, or the letters of Mr. Grant Duff. No one acquainted with the under-currents of foreign politics, and with the policy which Prince Bismarck has been steadily pursuing since he saved Germany from revolution, by binding up the aims of the people with the fortunes of the House of Hohenzollern, can fail to perceive, firstly, that the Eastern question cannot receive its final solution without the disruption of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as the extinction of Ottoman rule in Europe; and secondly, that it is from Berlin, and not from St. Petersburg, that the signal will be given for the crowning crash. The Austrians are now the only Germans not included within the new German Empire; and German unity will not be complete until the south-eastern frontier is extended to the Carnic Alps and the border line of Hungary. It may be confidently anticipated, therefore, that when the Eastern question

is ripe for solution, and Austria is brought face to face with the imminent formation of a Sclavonic Confederation, the Court and Cabinet of Vienna will have to choose between the loss of the south-eastern provinces of the Empire, and the incorporation of the adjoining provinces of Turkey within its limits. It will be truly a choice of evils; but it will have to be made, the interests of both Germany and Russia requiring them to put the strongest pressure upon Austria, to prevent her from remaining neutral.

The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be the alternative recommended at Berlin and St. Petersburg; the interests of Germany demanding the incorporation of Austria proper with the German Empire, and those of Russia being opposed to the formation of a Sclavonic Confederation. As the rejection of this course would involve a revolt of her Sclavonic population, aided, openly or secretly, by Germany and Russia, she may be expected to accept what seems inevitable, and drift eastward with the hope, perhaps, of recovering on the Lower Danube the prestige and influence which she has lost in Germany since Sadowa was fought, and the Treaty of Prague signed. The change will produce discontent among the German and Magyar subjects of the Kaiser; there will be agitation among the former for incorporation with their Fatherland; and Prince Bismarck, or his successor, will demand the cession of Austria proper as compensation for the extension of the Kaiser's dominion south-eastward. The cession will be made sooner or later, and the separation of Hungary will follow, leaving the Sclaves to shape

their own destiny, free from the influence alike of Vienna and of Pesth; while the dreaded domination of Russia will cease with a solution which will reduce her to isolation. The Sclavonic Confederation may not be founded upon the lines laid down by the Omladina, any more than the Germany and Italy of to-day realise the aims of Young Germany and Young Italy; but its formation may be as confidently anticipated as the unity of those countries might have been thirty or forty years ago.

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